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The Church Quarterly Review.

Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D.,
Principal of King's College, London.

No. 144

JULY 1911.

Vol. LXXII.

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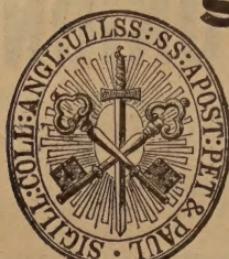
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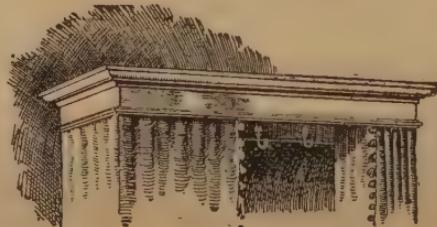
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THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. 144

JULY 1911.

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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.
NO. CXLIV. JULY 1911.

ART. I.—COMMUNITY WORK AND THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND.

1. *Monasticism: Its Ideals and History.* By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated into English by E. E. KELLETT, M.A., and F. H. MARSEILLE, Ph.D., M.A. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1908.)
2. *England and the Church.* By HERBERT KELLY, S.S.M. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1902.)
3. *An Idea in the Working: An Account of the Society of the Sacred Mission.* (London: Published for the Society by A. R. Mowbray and Co., Ltd. 1908.)
4. *Monasteries and Religious Houses of Great Britain and Ireland.* By F. M. STEELE. (London: Washbourne. 1903.)
5. *The Religious Life and the Vows.* By Mgr. C. GAY, Bishop of Anthédon. Translated by O. S. B. (London: Burns and Oates. 1900.)
6. *Essai sur l'Organisation de la Compagnie de Jésus.* Par E. PIAGET. (Leiden: Brill. 1893.)

And other Works.

IN the last issue of this Review another writer has set before us the ideals and motives which lie hidden in the Community life for men regarded as 'primarily a vocation to the special cultivation of the interior spiritual life,' and has shewn how in this direction it meets modern religious needs with

particular force. I have been asked to consider it from a different point of view as primarily a form of service, on the ground of its utility or even necessity to the efficiency of the Church's practical work in the care and conversion of souls. This may easily become a very crude, even a debasing, aspect of the matter. As a bishop once wrote to me: 'People think "Religious" missionaries are cheap and can live on mealies, while those who cry out for sacrifice have every luxury.' But it is not necessarily debasing. It is an aspect which, I think, ought to be considered, and which I propose to take first. We can think next of the principles on which it rests and their spiritual value or meaning. So far as I possibly can, I want to keep away from all disputable and controversial points. The facts I have to point forward are so well known and so universally admitted that we are tired of hearing about them. But is not that because we have not recognized the conclusions to which they point?

We have in England a well-recognized normal system of working on which the financial system follows. The whole area has been carved up into more or less manageable sections. We have set ourselves to provide a fair middle-class marrying wage for each man who is to be responsible for one such section. Where necessary we provide a certain number of young assistant clergy on a rather more liberal standard for a single man. For oversight, we have divided our area into somewhat unmanageable sections, such as one man can barely cover. The system is far from completely worked out as we should like it to be, but the fundamental intention is clear.

When the Church spread out of England into the Colonies, this was the system it took with it. Parishes might be as big as counties, but each must have its rector, and each rector his stipend. In the Mission field parishes with geographical boundaries were impossible, but the general principle still held—one work, one man, one stipend. If the 'station' was not a parish, it was at least regarded as a parish as nearly as might be.

So far as the Diocese was concerned the defects of a settled

and normal system made themselves felt first in the Mission field, just because the work there was not settled but constantly shifting, full of emergencies and abnormalities. There was no well-known routine method which everybody could follow. There were many new questions which could not be left for each man to decide in his own way without creating confusion. Again, in regard to administration, at any moment men might be invalidated home, new fields or opportunities might present themselves. Many places seemed to call for strong centres rather than one-man stations. The needs of the case could not be met unless the bishop was allowed to use the whole resources of the Mission with a much greater freedom than we are accustomed to in England. Something of the same difficulty was felt in Colonial work. Over the settled country, the normal parish might be reproduced, though with some strain ; in the 'back blocks,' with their vast distances and scanty population, it seemed something of a farce.

The weaknesses of our system are more obvious abroad, but their nature can be seen better in England, in its own home. The division of fields shews itself in the extraordinary disproportion of effort which the bishop labours to redress. A large church with a reputation keeps a staff of twelve clergy. A wealthy parish has just spent 4000*l.* on an organ, and in a burst of exceptional generosity subscribes 50*l.* to the Diocesan Church Building Fund. A vicar with gifts that way raises 7000*l.* a year for his own work, and this parish—which is very poor—subscribes 1*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* Meanwhile, in East Ham, a parish of 30,000 souls has one curate and cannot raise enough to build itself a parish room.

But the difficulty is not merely one of inequalities between parishes. There are certain questions with which the parish system cannot cope at all, for it only provides general practitioners : it has no space for specialists. The large town has a University, and the University is not a parochial institution even though the buildings stand in a parish. Again, there are whole classes of people, those around Hyde Park and those around the Docks, whom the parish

system for different reasons hardly touches. Again, especially in the country, there is a continual series of little emergencies made by illness, vacancies, even by the need of a holiday. Very often there are big emergencies due to the rapid shifting of populations, as in the mining districts and the suburbs of large towns. I know of a quasi-sole charge, where a mission district of 1200 people had a small iron church and half a curate. In ten years the population grew to 20,000. It still had the iron church, but the curate was now allowed to give the district his whole time.

It is very frequently insisted that 'the true unit of the Church is not the parish but the diocese.' Our actual system of dividing spheres, however, tells uniformly in favour of the smallest unit. The diocese only comes in when the needs of the parish are satisfied; consequently the diocese fares badly. After all, however, the diocese is a sphere, represented by one who has not only the right but considerable effective power to press its needs.

The difficulty therefore makes itself still more acutely felt where we have to consider questions which are not even diocesan but affect the Church as a whole. A certain province came into possession of a large capital fund. Some one urged strongly that it was an exceptional opportunity to make provision for the central needs of the province; but no one would listen. Every bishop had his own diocese to think of, and the money was divided up to the last penny. If I were to choose an instance of what I mean by a Church question, I should be inclined to take the provision for ordination candidates, but that is a controversial point. Everybody, however, must admit that our foreign work is a duty laid on us all. Burmah is not in the diocese of Lichfield nor Canada in Truro. It follows that our foreign work is done in a half-hearted and ineffective way.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, let us suppose, having carefully surveyed the field and consulted all authorities, decides on a new mission to the Congo. We have centralized financial arrangements, it is true, and a grant is promised for five years; but, a bishop having been appointed,

there is no power in all England to provide him with one single man. He must get those where he can. If he is an attractive personality, he will be enabled to take up stations, and if his successor is unattractive a good many of them will be left vacant.

In all these ways, very much in regard to the diocese, still more in regard to the Church at large, our normal system of dividing up all work into separate charges is meant for normal and settled work under normal and settled conditions. It cannot meet the exceptional and abnormal; it breaks down in face of emergencies. A young layman who had been in British Columbia, the base of operations, said to me with bitterness: 'At the time of the Klondyke rush, the Romans had got up three or four priests, a hospital and nursing sisters by the time we had called a drawing-room meeting to discuss raising a stipend.'

These defects have been very widely recognized. Let us see what has been done to remedy them. (1) Several important missions have entirely abandoned the old system of separate stations, and have become communities. The whole available resources of men and money are in the hands of the central authority on the spot. Thus all work together according to one carefully thought-out plan or method. (2) In some other missions, while the station system still remains, there are also 'Brotherhoods,' which provide a group of men working together on special objects, who are also in part available for needs not otherwise met. (3) In the Colonies Bush Brotherhoods, working from a centre, have been found extraordinarily effective in covering the scattered parts.

(4) In England we have a great variety of attempts to supplement the parish system in different directions. (a) Many dioceses have a 'College' or 'Mission,' a group of clergy at the bishop's disposal, as a reserve for taking missions and supplying emergencies. (b) The Pusey House at Oxford, St. Anselm's at Cambridge, the Mirfield House at Leeds, Cowley House and Liddon House in London deal with special classes of people or supply special wants. (c) In very large parishes the Clergy House is an attempt

to concentrate the power of the staff rather as a community than as separate workers.

These efforts suffice to shew our consciousness of what is required, they are an example of the way in which our needs could be supplied. Can we say that they are also sufficient to meet them ? Let us see not only how much we have done, but how much we have not done.

Perhaps we might leave the community dioceses on one side, for although, where it has been applied, the success of the system has hardly been denied, I believe people are not agreed as to the wisdom of its general application. On the other hand, few would doubt that every missionary diocese ought to have at least one strong centre for combined work. Large dioceses need several. Similarly, if Bush Brotherhoods have proved a sound system—which also is not denied—there is a very large field for their employment. To the best of my knowledge, there are four communities in India and four in South Africa ; taking Australia and Canada together we have six Bush Brotherhoods.

What are our requirements in England ? Does not every diocese need its 'College' of clergy, who shall be so to speak in reserve, not tied down to a fixed parochial sphere ? Ought not every large town to have its Liddon House, or even two or three such houses ? If Oxford and Cambridge, with all their wealth of colleges, clerical fellows, chaplains, yet stand in need of organized centres such as the Pusey House and St. Anselm's, do we not need them much more in Bristol, Sheffield, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, and Newcastle, where the University system is purely secular ? We have done some good work, but it is the merest beginning ; except as an example to be followed up, it is wholly inadequate. If in all these directions we multiplied our communities by five we should still not have fully covered the ground.

In an interesting paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies*¹ Mr. Scott Holmes gives us an account of how the Norman Church met the deficiencies of the parish system

¹ *J. T. S.* (April, 1904).

after the Conquest by houses of Augustinian Canons, which from his description must have been almost exactly what we call Bush Brotherhoods. The entire population of England may at this time have been 2,000,000, yet they managed to found fifty-four such houses in less than a hundred years.

All these efforts I have referred to are more or less diocesan efforts to do work which the diocese requires but which parishes cannot do. If, however, we ask what organizations there are of men on behalf of the Church generally, we can, I think, only count the four Communities centred at Cowley, Mirfield, Kelham, and Plaistow. The writer in our last issue estimated them as containing a hundred members. Personally I should guess at a hundred ordained, and perhaps sixty lay, members. Suggestions have been made several times for a Guild of Service Abroad, to consist of clergy ready to serve anywhere, but it has not been found possible.

If now we ask why these efforts are not followed up, a very easy answer can be made. Most of us have no such belief that Communities are useful, and still less that they are necessary. Some would add that the belief was only held by a few theorists.

Both parts of this answer demand careful consideration. What men really believe in, they will more or less endeavour to bring about. If Churchmen were really convinced of the need of Communities, there would be far more Communities. But the addition is entirely false to the facts. There are people who have theories *against* Community life, but the people who want Communities are nearly all quite practical people who want them for practical purposes. Some under the pressure of an immediate need have made efforts to get them in the most obvious and direct way. They and others who would like to do the same are only conscious of practical difficulties, and this difficulty in especial,—that there are only a very limited number of men willing to work under the conditions of a Community, and still fewer who will do so for more than a limited time. In consequence, there is always some anxiety whether we can maintain even the

Communities we have. Without some assurance on this point we hesitate to start more. As to the main mass of us, who should support their efforts, whenever we look away from our own work and consider thoughtfully what progress is being made and what progress is not being made, what is being done and what is being missed, we also recognize the need and applaud the efforts, but our own work is very engrossing, and we go through these reflective processes very seldom.

It would be much nearer the truth to say that while our belief in the need of Community life, which is fairly strong and widespread, was due to observation and not to theory, the difficulties we find in its adequate development are due to lack of theory. We are so habituated to our own method of doing things as to be quite unconscious that it rests upon a certain way of thinking. Partly because we have seen so little of any other method, it never occurs to us that there are other ways of thinking. If we are to understand the Community system we must understand the Community mind, and as a first step thereto we had better analyze our own.

Our normal system is to divide all our work into spheres, assigned one by one to an individual as his responsibility, not to be taken from him except for grave fault. On it he may expend his best thought, his best energy. Thus the parish is emphatically the vicar's parish, and the diocese is the bishop's diocese.

This ideal of individualism, free to make its own efforts to develop its own ideas, underlies all our civil life, and I am not going to allow that it is a weak or even a defective idea. Scientifically minded onlookers may think it wasteful and cry out for State regulation. They are sure that truly competent authorities could settle how many butchers' shops we should have in a town, and what prices we should pay, and how many railways we should be allowed, much better than we can ourselves. But we think it right to go our own way, (a) because independence and responsibility develop power, interest, and intelligence, which are worth paying for even at the cost of mistakes. There would be no

fun in life without risks, and a dull life means a dull energy ; (b) because all experience shews that the expert authorities also make mistakes, and if left in sole charge they are less likely than we are to find them out because it is not they who suffer from them.

Nevertheless it is impossible that any one system permeated by one idea or principle should cover everything or escape the defects of its qualities. (1) Individualism tends to give disproportionate support to what does, and to starve what does not, appeal to the common imagination. (2) Although by dint of advertising and appealing we may get a roughly correct estimate of needs, it will be a slow process and (3) it is apt to be an inadequate estimate, for when we assign work to individuals, the more devoted they are, the harder it is to get their attention to anything else.

These defects, though they will make themselves felt, should not be serious, provided we recognize that our own work needs the proper use of different systems, and our minds find room for different principles. The parish system is a very excellent system. The principle of individual freedom and responsibility is a very excellent principle. But the sole predominance of individualism is making inevitable defects into monstrous evils, ruinous to the parish system itself as well as to everything which does not come within its scope.

And this idea of individualism has taken sole possession of our minds. A system by itself is obviously a name on paper or at best a method of working. The reality of the system depends on there being individuals to work it. It is also obvious that the work done by the Church is done by workers, is the sum of their efforts, and its effective power is the sum of their earnestness, ability, energy. Again, the sum of its work is the sum of individual souls thereby affected, regard being paid to the depth of the effect. By individualism we do not mean individual self-confidence or individual ambition. We work for the Church and not for ourselves, and we work by God's power and not by our own. Nevertheless what God does, He does by our means. Through us He will uplift or maintain parishes, save souls,

convert natives. How else can we work and what other aim should we work for ?

It should be remembered that this way of looking at things is very modern : it has arisen mainly in the last sixty years. Parishes are a very old institution, but they were not originally conceived as something separate from the diocese, nor was the diocese an affair distinct from the Church. Even in the early part of the nineteenth century, the parish priest and the bishop were the official ministers of the Church system. Personality might affect the efficiency of their ministry. Exceptional saintliness or unworthiness, exceptional ability, might produce results of their own ; but, speaking generally, people looked to and were influenced by the system more than by the man. It is now a commonplace with us all that the man is more than the system.

We do not realize, and it is very important we should realize, how vast was the change introduced when vicar and bishop learnt to feel that success depended on their own energy. To the vicar the communicants have become *his* communicants and he has to get them. The guilds are his guilds and he has to keep them up. The C.L.B.,—if it is to be 'a flourishing C.L.B.',—is his C.L.B. and he must 'flourish it.' In the country, still to some extent, the people are his people. In the towns they are only his in their ecclesiastical aspect. In their business aspect they belong to divers firms ; in their civic aspect, to the borough. Even of those who go to Church not a few just belong to themselves, and still more of those who do not go. Still, legally they are his people—in their ecclesiastical aspect,—his communicants potentially and if he can get them. The curate is in a somewhat anomalous position. In most cases he merely assists. In the 'well-organized parish,' so far as may be, each is given his own work. One takes the Mission Church and is fairly happy. Others have their own special charge, Sunday School or Club, and each has his own district. Inasmuch as the divisions are not absolute, the arrangement is not quite satisfactory, but we curates are waiting for the time when we shall be vicars ourselves, and have a work which is really our own.

This wave of individualism has brought with it an extraordinary increase of energy and devotion, and therein we do well to rejoice ; but has it brought also an increase of efficiency ? Do people believe in God, do they believe in a Church, more than they did ? There is a great deal of evidence both ways, but I am afraid that the balance is not satisfactory. Has our individualism energized the parish system ? Has it not gone far to destroy its influence as a system even in its own sphere ? A sound system is one which produces reasonably good results at the hands of any reasonably capable person. But we no longer expect the system to do anything. The success we look for is that of a popular preacher, an attractive personality, a well-organized church with a large congregation, often sucked out of neighbouring parishes. In a few years the wind passeth over it and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more.

The notion that the results are the results of individual effort working upon individuals is not obvious. We all know that it is false, a natural psychological illusion due (a) to the fact that we can sometimes see a direct result of that kind, and the striking cases stick in our memory ; (b) to the fact that during the effort our attention is concentrated on the individual factors. The moment we reflect, the moment we look away from our own doings, we are quite well aware that the men we talk to, and the still larger number of men we seldom get a chance of talking to, are influenced by the whole sum of ' British religion ' as a whole, and that all our efforts merely sink as a factor into the mind-mass of the man. Yet our system almost assumes that the layman will split off his life from all other religious influences except those of his parish, and that for this purpose he will split up his life into ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical aspects. The first he will not do, the second he does too readily, and he ought not to do either.

If it is obvious, it is obviously not Scriptural. The prophet mourns over a national chastisement, but rejoices in a national recovery which lies beyond it. We may remember that in the chastisement his individual hearers

would be all swept out, and that the remnant which returned would consist of individuals ; but he was thinking of Israel. The Dean of Wells, in his *Commentary on Ephesians*, summarizes,—‘ St. Paul is strangely little interested in the individual.’ He had done a good deal as an individual, anyhow he had suffered a good deal ; he tells it over, wondering curiously what it was worth, but it was a common faith, the growth of a Divine Purpose which really mattered.

If it is true that the man is more than the system, or, as a bishop said, ‘ the man must be greater than his priesthood,’ one thing is certainly obvious. It is absurd to say ‘ I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,’ when in fact the Church depends on us. Let us have a revised Creed,—‘ I believe in Church workers.’ I am not sure we want a Creed at all. Perhaps we mean that God works in us, but He is still dependent on us to get things straight for Him.

Of course we know that the obvious principle is obviously false. It is the strength of the Church that it is a great system. When we reach near the truth of things by reflexion and prayer and meditation we know our own littleness, and that the most any individual can do is to help a little towards a higher realization of God’s power and God’s order. It is the weakness of the Church to-day that, when we get to our work, we stop reflecting and then everything seems different. And just look at the results !

The S.P.G. is trying to fulfil God’s order over a wide field. Our parish has an annual sermon and a collection (5*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*). But the next parish adopted the Bangweolo Mission and raised 24*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*, because it was *their* Mission. Three good ladies also gave 6*l.* each to support Matthew, Mark, and Luke in the Mission school who were their boys. (John unfortunately ran away, as boys sometimes will, so the fourth lady has discontinued her subscription.) A boy in our parish wanted to be ordained. He was not going to be our curate—we didn’t want him very much—but we were willing to find 20*l.* a year. However, he was not accepted, so we contented ourselves with a box for Ember Pennies and sent up 3*s.* 7*½d.* (I do not

know how the halfpenny got in.) If you ask a man to subscribe, he will put his name down for a guinea; if you ask the congregation to subscribe, he will put his hand in the bag with a shilling.

We act as individuals, we give as individuals and to individual things. The result works as a general law. The bigger any plan may be, the wider its effects, the more central its aim, the less we care for it and the less we will do for it. Need I remark on the sheer silliness of the result? That mission school had 100 boys and cost 600*l.* Does the good lady suppose that when John ran away the school only cost 594*l.*? Does she not know that it was one whole effort working through success and failure to one total result? Does not that parish realize that it offered the Church 20*l.* to take an inferior man, and its pennies for a better man? But 'people give best where they are personally interested.' Certainly, but if we seek our own personal interests, is it not written: 'Verily they have received their reward'? I want to shew that these practical questions are at root spiritual questions. Our individualism does not mean that we are seeking our own comfort, money, success in life, and the praise of men. I believe that in all these respects the standard is far higher than it was a hundred years ago, but they are not the only forms of self-will and self-pleasing. The very existence of this law and of the defects in Church work of which we are so conscious,—what are they but a measure of the extent to which we have allowed ourselves to be overcome by the joy of our own activities, a longing to have our own career of our own usefulness, to be able to say to ourselves and God, 'This is what I have done!' We have so much true humility and true sacrifice. We do not want to be anything, and we are willing not to have anything; but we cannot get over the craving to do something, something of our own. We can make such splendid sacrifices, if only we may make them to our own satisfaction. We are ready to give God everything—except ourselves. And all the failure which comes upon us is the lesson of God's love. He will not be served that way.

The essence of the Community Life, or 'Religious' Life, on the other hand, is very variously apprehended. Some think at once of permanent vows as a final surrender of one's life. Some take it to imply asceticism, poverty, and celibacy. Some regard it as a special cultivation of the interior life. In its broadest general sense, however, it implies nothing more than the doing of things in common, that is, the surrender of the principle of individualism. The difference thus made is of course comparative, a difference of relative order, not a positive or absolute difference. The priest who works in a parish belongs to a Community. He cannot do just what he likes at his own fancy. Similarly, a Community is not a standardized machine with interchangeable parts. Each member will have an individual character, and preferences. There will be things he can do best, and things he can do most happily. It does even happen that he may be self-willed. If a man surrenders the principle of individualism, he cannot surrender the fact of individuality. Nevertheless the difference is very real. The individual may be given a work to do, but he has no claim on it. His abilities and even preferences will be reasonably considered, but they also are not rights on which he can insist. He has to work with others. His ideas are part of a common stock to be carried out so far as the Community can work in with them or allow scope for them in the pursuit of a common purpose. The member has to shape his way of thinking accordingly.

The question of vows I will consider presently. The 'special cultivation of the interior life' is obviously not a principle of the Community life unless we add that it is pursued 'in common.' Even so we have a definition only of certain forms of the Community Life, which are called Contemplative. Many Orders, regarding the interior life as their primary motive, also undertake active work as a means of its fulfilment. But there are Orders distinctively 'active.' The definition given would hardly, for instance, cover the Jesuits. Of course the most essentially active Order must recognize that everything follows on the spiritual life. A man who does not love God cannot serve Him rightly; but

this is just as true outside a Community as inside. Of the five Anglican Orders for men, one is purely contemplative, one purely active. The other three are, I believe, so far primarily contemplative that they would accept the definition. I am here obviously considering the practical possibilities and the spiritual principles implied in an active Community. I have dwelt upon the practical possibilities just because the Church is so much greater than we are, and a Community has no more right to think first of its own 'life' than an individual has to think first of his own work.

The other points given are secondary, in that they are necessary consequences of the Community Life or idea. The members cannot marry because marriage involves inconsistent personal obligations. A certain poverty or simplicity of life is necessary because luxuries are personal enjoyments. But none of these are distinctive of a Community. Multitudes of individual clergy are unmarried. Many are more ascetic, more self-denying, and more spiritual than many members of a Community. The difference is not a difference of heroism or of holiness, but that what the one does by his own will and effort are to the other matters of rule done in common. Many things which are very difficult if you have to do them yourself are quite easy, and therefore unheroic, if you have got to do them, though obedience has difficulties of its own.

I am not, however, concerned with heroism or sanctity, which are inspiring subjects, but with utilities, organizations, efficiencies, requirements and the supply of requirements, which are dull subjects. We talk, anyhow we sing hymns, about the Church as an army for the conquest of the world, but the Church is fundamentally rather a state which rests upon the individual freedom of the civil life. Every state, however, must also have an army prepared for war. War is an emergency ; it also consists of emergencies which must be anticipated. The campaign and the battle require a combination of different arms. Cavalry and artillery must prepare the way, support the work, of the infantry. The assistant services, the engineers and the ammunition supply,

the commissariat and the medical have also their necessary place. The preparation of an army therefore consists primarily in training the individual to think of himself always as part of a whole movement directed to a single purpose. The successes are successes of the whole, not the achievements merely of those who win them. The troops beaten back on one side and the officers despatching goods on the communications have done their full share towards the victory attained by those who broke through at the weak point. The army is therefore our best type of the Community life. Through difficulties it breaks a way by which the more leisurely expansion of independent civilian life can follow.

War to a state is a single episode, beginning with a declaration and ending with a treaty. In the Church war and peace interpenetrate one another everywhere. Broadly speaking, all mission work is of the nature of war; conversion is a conquest. All pastoral work, the care of Christian souls, is a work of peace. We cannot therefore press the military analogy indefinitely, yet it offers us two suggestions: (1) If, wherever an emergency arise, there were a band of men who could be moved readily, opportunities would not be lost while we were trying to bring about a readjustment of the common perspective, and the very promptitude of the action would help enormously in getting that readjustment quickly made. As soon as the normal movements corresponded to the requirements of a situation, the community need not be further drawn upon. The 'soldiers' might by degrees be moved elsewhere. (2) Emergencies are temporary, but there are certain kinds of work which require men accustomed to work in combination, and to preserve continuity of system. The experience of only too many clergy houses and community missions shews that ability to live and work together cannot be taken for granted.

If the Church is to meet its needs in so many varied directions, it must provide a fairly large body of men. I am not indifferent to the possibilities of lay work, for instance in school teaching, but this opens up fields of its

own. The requirements of Community clergy are easier to estimate. I do not think that I should be far wrong if I were to say that our Church needs a thousand Community clergy. Assuming the working life of a priest as thirty-three years, this number would be created if we found thirty men a year out of the six hundred or thereabouts annually ordained. (There are supposed to be about three thousand British and American Jesuits.) But we have never thought of providing them at all. We are so absorbed in the idea of individualism and free choice that when we feel the want of a Community we look round for men willing to work in it exactly as if we were looking for men willing to take a difficult parish, and we do not understand why the results are so small.

Now, of course there are men with a strong natural bent to a Community Life, just as there are men who never can work with or under others; but these are exceptional. Young men, before they have acquired experience, find associated work relatively easier than their elders do—otherwise we should have very few curates. Individualism seems to us natural because we have all grown up in it. If, then, we suddenly ask for men to join a Community, what can we find save those very few of exceptional temperament and a certain proportion of young men who will come for a time, say five years? The latter will not be many, for if the curates have no work of 'their own,' they have to consider their 'prospects'—prospects of their own usefulness. If we want numbers sufficient to form an effective power, we must do exactly what the army does,—train men to it, preferably while young. Drill, precise formalities, accurate movements are not intended to provide a State show in Hyde Park, but processes by which a mind is being trained to think and act as part of a whole. The uniform marks off the man who thus 'belongs' to something, from those who are masters of their own actions. Continental experience says that it takes two years to make a soldier. The Religious Orders long ago agreed that two years was the minimum time for the novitiate.

Here I might consider the question of 'vows,' which

contains a curiously significant misunderstanding of terms. In ancient usage, as Hebraists tell us, the word implies a state of separation. As applied to the Community Life, it implies that a man has been separated from the stream of free life, and is 'devoted' to a purpose, whatever the length of time during which that separation continues. If we take untrained men, we shall not expect the separation to continue very long. Where a man has really given himself to learn the Community spirit, has formed his mind upon its way of thinking, in that it might be reasonably expected he would continue. Periods of service may be useful, and good Community work may be so done, but Communities are made out of lives given. All great achievements are measured thus by lives and not by years. We have got into the way of calling a promise to a Community a 'vow,' only because a promise is the simplest way of making and securing separation; but it is not the essence of the state.

What we require is not merely a large supply, but a constant supply of men. Unfortunately most of our efforts are made to meet an immediate, local, nearly always diocesan, need, which renders proper arrangements for training virtually impossible. The Communities are too small and too much preoccupied; those abroad are too far from the sources of supply. Training, especially of the young, requires constant attention, and its results are not to be anticipated. Even apart from absolute disappointments, you may succeed in getting a most devoted man, who is yet quite unsuited to the particular work which a local Community has in view.

These practical difficulties rest upon a principle. The essence of the Community spirit is detachment. To the individualist his own work becomes as a wife—something, at least to him, utterly different from anything else in the world. Just so far as a man has acquired the true Community spirit, one particular work differs from another, as his male acquaintances differ, in importance or in his ability to understand them, but his preferences do not form obligations. Is it reasonable to teach a man not to be absorbed in the work that is his own, and then expect that he will

consent to be absorbed in the work which is ours ? Out of say a hundred young men, I have known several who wanted to go to a particular bishop, three who had preferences for some particular part of England, never one who cared for a diocese as such. An effective force of trained men is only possible through a central organization by which they can be looked after, sifted, directed to the work they can do best, by which the spirit of detachment can be maintained, which can hold the reserves of men ready for requirements, as in our foreign work the S.P.G. has centralized our finance. Apart from such system our Community efforts are bound to be sporadic, uncertain, discontinuous.

To this proposal it is objected that a large body of clergy under obedience to a Society Superior who is not one of the constituted authorities of the Church creates an *imperium in imperio*, dangerous to Church order. This requires serious consideration. Let us ask what are the constituted powers of a bishop, and what are their actual limits ? No priest can undertake any official work without the sanction and mission from the bishop of the diocese. The incumbent of a parish once instituted can, like the bishop himself, only be deposed by canonical process, but the bishop's licence can be withdrawn from all other clergy at any time. The bishop has the oversight and control of all work in the diocese. On the other hand, though he may offer a given work, though he may advise and urge, it is not understood that he will require, its acceptance. Similarly, it is generally understood that the individual may if he desires resign his work. In any case the bishop's power is limited to his own diocese. He cannot send a man to any place outside it.

Many believe that the bishop ought to have power to move all his clergy as he sees fit. This would involve much more revolutionary changes than can be discussed here. If applied to incumbents, as some wish, it would mean the legal and canonical reduction of the parish to the status of a 'mission.' Even if limited to the unbeneficed clergy, (a) it would require a new financial system. The bishop who appoints and disposes of men must, like the Roman

bishop, be responsible for their maintenance, present and future. (b) It implies an unmarried clergy. (c) It implies a wholly different mind and training from any we have now.

For good or evil therefore our actual system allows a certain measure of individual freedom. Since Communities have no legal or canonical status, every member working in any diocese is as much subject to the rules of the diocese and the authority of the bishop as anyone else. He must have the episcopal licence and is subject to the same control. The powers of the Community can only extend to what with other men is left to individual freedom. If a man offers himself for work in a diocese, or asks to resign it, the act is the same whether he does so of his own notion, or because a Superior so instructs him.

The theory then is simple. Could the practice really be very different? Our mediaeval history is misleading. The old quarrels of bishops and the Regular Orders arose from exempt Orders. In the English Church to-day—very fortunately—no authority exists to grant exemptions. A Community devoted to the cultivation of the interior life, or to some special work, such as mission preaching or schools, might be somewhat difficult to control. A Community such as I conceive, seeking to serve the Church by taking over those kinds of work in which its system is most needed, is dependent upon the bishop at every turn. If it became very powerful in a diocese, it would be because the bishop found it was very useful. If it was a troublesome Society, no one would offer it opportunities. The bishops in this matter occupy a very strong position. The Community has nothing but its reputation for doing good work. In these individualistic days it is not easy to create a Community spirit at all. A small Community concentrated upon a work of its own might be very wilful. In a large Community, working for the Church in many places, a misguided Superior who embroiled it with the authorities whom he was supposed to help, would very soon find himself in still greater difficulties with the Community itself.

So far as the principle goes, the Church is a spiritual body, and as such it cannot receive gifts. Each bishop is bishop

of a diocese. Legally speaking, therefore, the Community or Society would be a Trust like the S.P.G. or the National Society, but one which receives lives rather than money, to be administered to the best purpose. Or again and better, the Community is an army within a state, and to the Community all the reasons apply which make one army immensely more effective than a number of armies separately organized in each province. It is on this analogy that the relations between the Superiors of the Community and the authorities of the Church can be based. There can be no question that the leaders of the Church must be the true masters of the Community, for the latter is the Church's tool, prepared for the Church's purposes, not for its own. Nevertheless, it is a tool of a very peculiar kind, which can only be handled easily by those who themselves belong to it, and have been trained under its discipline. It is for civilian statesmen to say when and where the army should be used, but they will only create confusion if they are not willing to leave the management of it to its own officers, or will not listen to the officer's view of what it can safely undertake.

Under existing Anglican conditions a Community of this kind has not enough power to make itself a danger. Possible inconveniences will need to be guarded against by a little foresight and arrangement, possible frictions by mutual confidence and sympathy. Differences always arise between people who are looking for them, just as a nervous bicyclist picks out all the stones in the road. The object of such a Community is to provide the bishop with a body of men already trained to act as a body, and this is hardly possible to find and organize within the limits of all those dioceses singly where a need for them arises. The system is most wanted and most easily applied abroad, and I have never met a foreign bishop who shewed any unreasonable jealousy of a central organization, once the limits of its authority were understood, or did not admit that that was necessary to a permanent system. In England the rigidity of our legal forms creates in many directions greater, but by no means insuperable, difficulties.

I spoke of a thousand men as a rough guess at what might

be a not inadequate number. I quite agree that to put the whole of that power under one direction would be dangerous. Three Communities of 330 would be no danger at all. The misjudgements of one would be corrected by another. If one turned wilful, it would rapidly lose in influence and numbers. At the same time, each Community would be large enough to maintain a sound and effective system.

Is it indeed a necessary law of mankind that we should live in perpetual dread of other folks' dangers and in complete oblivion of our own? The Roman Church, elaborately organized and centralized, anxiously guards itself against the mischief and ineffectiveness of individual freedom. The English Church is so intensely individualist that it can hardly organize anything. It therefore maintains a vigilant attitude of suspicion towards whatever might conceivably be too strong an organization. I ask myself, therefore, two serious questions. The creation of an effective Community,—is it a thing worth doing? Is it possible?

First, Is it worth doing? If my arguments are at all sound and the facts are as alleged, then one who believes so much as I do in the Church of England may be excused for believing that it is the thing best worth doing in all the world.

There is no need to look back at particular instances of what might be effected. The question has wider bearings. We all complain of the lack of leadership, generalship, foresight in Church affairs. Our leaders are men like ourselves, with our defects. Their position gives them a wider outlook, but it is difficult to develop leadership when no one will consent to be led. A Roman or a British general could plan a campaign on a large scale, because he could carry it out. A Greek or a Boer had no effective strategy because he was entirely dependent upon what he could persuade his troops to do. The Boer soldiers shewed an astonishing comprehension of the situation immediately before them, but they could not be brought to appreciate the importance of distant aims. They defended with the rarest skill of highly intelligent individuals, but they could

not attack, for they knew nothing of the 'impact of masses.' If we want generalship, we must give our leaders the means for its use.

The principle also appears in another form. The Community ideal is the opposite of Individualism; therefore it is objected that a Community training would destroy Individuality. In military affairs the falsity of 'unreflecting obedience' has long been realized. Any system depends for its effectiveness, in the first place, on the amount of capacity available, and must therefore strive to develop capacity to the utmost. But it depends ultimately not on mere quantity, but on the quantity which can be combined to the attainment of a common purpose. We forget that mere individualism is peculiarly fatal to individuality. In the parish system, so long as the vicar follows a known routine all goes well. If he has very original ideas, his curates come and go, his parish workers are puzzled, his neighbours regard it as a 'freak parish,' and his successor has quite different ideas. In a Community such a man can get his ideas listened to; if they are thought worth trying, they will be tried continuously.

The answer to the question is ultimately, however, spiritual, concerned with faith in God. If we mean, 'Will a Community system do great things for the Church,'—properly speaking, I believe that it will do nothing at all. The system of Individualism represents and develops energy; the Community system represents and develops what we may include under cleverness,—method, organization, planning, foresight. Our extraordinary belief in Individualism is just belief in human energy. All those Anglican failures that we are so tired of hearing about are directly and visibly due to this misplaced faith. If we are only going to add on a number of men with a fine belief in combined cleverness, certainly we shall entangle ourselves in all the worst evils associated with the worst memories of 'Jesuitry.'

I hold the creation of an effective Community to be a thing worth doing, because on quite simple common-sense observation God seems to be teaching us by means of our

own failures that this is the thing of which we stand in need. And above all I urge this consideration, that it is extremely difficult for us to get away from belief in our own system so long as we know nothing else. So soon as we have another which supplies the limitations of our own, we begin to recognize that our own has limitations. We may even learn to put a great deal less faith in all human systems and a little more in the Church, which is God's system. Is it not true that our own notion of what we are doing ourselves is a psychological illusion? Looking back on life, do we not see well enough that all a man had of his own was what he suffered, which is mainly what he kept hoping he could have done and in the end had not? In all the world you will never really find anything else, save that by God's mercy and in spite of yourself the Cross finds you. In that gear a Community will do nothing for you except perhaps help to knock the nails in at a fairly early stage. It all hurts abominably, but early or late, with all our shirking and pretending we don't care, there is no way out of it. For the glory of God is just the fulfilment of His will in us, and from this nothing keeps us back so much as the notion that to it our activity is capable of adding something.

Is such a Community possible? Of course I do not imagine that it would be possible at once. The Franciscans and Jesuits grew to some thousands during the lifetime of their founders, but the Community ideal was everywhere understood. We are asking whether it is possible to reconstitute a Community system, not merely as an interesting specimen but on a really effective scale, in an age when its very meaning has been forgotten.

If we were looking round for people with a strong personal vocation to some special form of life 'in itself,' then such vocations are confessedly rare. But that is not our question. Everybody knows who cares to know that the Church can find year by year some thousands of boys eager to enter its service. It is only natural that a good and devout boy should be eager to find his career in working at what so much interests him. But is there among them or among us any reasonable number willing to lay aside the

notion of having a career they can call their own, the joy of making their own future, the hope of being able to contemplate their own usefulness and to labour for their own achievements ; willing, on the other hand, while developing their own individuality, to learn in the true soldier spirit to sink themselves in a common purpose, happily content to fail if others succeed or to wait while others press on, so that from it all the end is somehow reached ?

God has shaped His world in suchwise that the momentous choices of life are mostly made in youth, because the single-hearted decisiveness of enthusiasm is of more value than the correct but hesitating balance of judgement. Twenty years ago I should not have doubted that the venturesome spirit of English boyhood and youth would make an ample response to such an appeal once it was understood. But twenty years is a long time. I do not even now doubt that if the system proved a success it would secure recruits. We are all willing to give up our own success, if it is clear that we shall succeed, and to sacrifice a career of our own on condition that a career is opened for us. But nothing great will ever be done merely because we hope some one will do it, so long as we will not risk the exceeding preciousness of our own lives. While we are judging what it is worth, it is judging what we are worth. We are afraid it may be a failure. It does not occur to us that perhaps we are.

We have insistently pressed upon the youthful mind with the question, ' And now, my boy, what are *you* going to do ? ' We have never asked him to consider, ' What is the Church going to do ? ' We have drilled into the boy that he must above everything make his life a success, and that not sin, not self-seeking, but failure is the one evil in life to be dreaded. We do not mean to be worldly, but worldliness has come of it. When we regard the Church mainly as a field for the exercise of our own capacities, then the capacity of enjoyment is one capacity, and if the success of a well-organized parish is enjoyable so is the possession of a well-furnished drawing-room. We want to do our work well, but at least we can do ourselves well. If we fail to form an

effective Community life because we are too much taken up with our strenuous individualism, it will be a great loss to the Church; if we fail because we are too fond of making ourselves comfortable, it will be a great disgrace.

When we see how deep this teaching has sunk, how great is the influence of its adult teachers upon minds which in youth are not naturally given to fear, God only knows what He will do with this Church or with us. If enthusiasm and sacrifice have faded even from the young, where shall we look for them? Yet the enormous difficulty which men find even in seeing, or (having seen) in sticking to an ideal, which after all is so simple a matter, the multitude of reasons they find for escaping from it, makes it only the more plain that these questions of practical method and organization are in truth questions of spiritual sacrifice. That I may not be misunderstood I repeat finally—I do not say that the Community Life is the only, nor even that it is a specially high form, of sacrifice. I do not care whether it is or not. Faith in our own heroisms and sanctities is just as far from faith in God as faith in our own energies and clevernesses. But I have tried to shew (1) that the lack of self-sacrifice is the reason why Community Life is so rare; (2) that our Church work is distorted and halting through what is virtually a form of self-love and self-seeking, mainly because through the rarity of Community Life we have failed to recognize it as such, failed to learn that we cannot seek God's glory and our own satisfaction at the same time.

HERBERT KELLY, S.S.M.

ART. II.—THE MORALS OF IMMORALISM.

1. *Friedrich Nietzsche's Werke.* (Leipzig : C. G. Naumann. 1906.)
2. *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche.* Edited by Dr. OSCAR LEVY. (Edinburgh and London : T. N. Foulis. 1909, etc.)
3. *Nietzsche et l'Immoralisme.* Par ALFRED FOUILLÉE. (Paris : Félix Alcan. 1902.)
4. *Friedrich Nietzsche der Künstler und der Denker.* Von A. RIEHL. 'Klassiker der Philosophie.' (Stuttgart : Frommann. 1897.)
5. *The Life of Friedrich Nietzsche.* By DANIEL HALÉVY. Translated by J. M. HONE. With an Introduction by T. M. KETTLE, M.P. (London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1911.)
6. *Friedrich Nietzsche : his Life and Work.* By M. A. MÜGGE, PH.D. (London and Leipsic : T. Fisher Unwin. 1908.)
7. *Who is to be Master of the World ? An Introduction to the Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche.* By A. M. LUDOVICI. (Edinburgh and London : T. N. Foulis. 1909.)
8. *Man and Superman. A Comedy and a Philosophy.* By G. BERNARD SHAW. (London : Constable. 1907.)
9. *Orthodoxy.* By GILBERT K. CHESTERTON. (London : John Lane. 1909.)

THAT the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche are the product of an abnormal mind is very evident, and that the closing years of his life were clouded by mental disorders is admitted, but the day when his philosophy could be refuted by the easy method of handing it over to the mental pathologist has passed. Refutation by medical diagnosis was never a very respectable line of argument, while the recent and interesting life by M. Halévy seems to make it clear

that the madness was neither the cause nor the effect of the philosophy. The profound influence which Nietzsche has exerted upon literature and popular thought forces us to a candid examination of his ideas upon their own merits.

The fascination which Nietzsche possesses is not to be sought merely in his terse and epigrammatic style, but rather in what he has to say. He possesses in a superlative degree all the rhetorical advantages of the revolutionary. One who preaches 'God's in His heaven, all's right with the world' cannot command a hearing; for those who believe this to be untrue will turn with disgust from the unconvincing optimism, while those who accept the comfortable doctrine will readily draw the conclusion that no amount of discussion or declamation can improve that which is already perfect. A prophet of revolt is always certain of an interested audience. To the converted he seems to preach a new gospel, while for the unconverted his teaching has all the attraction of the forbidden thing. Nietzsche is a revolutionary of the most radical description. He goes deeper than any dissatisfaction with society or supernatural religion: he protests against morality itself. Naturalistic systems of ethics have generally been content to accept the current moral judgements while seeking a new foundation for them. Herbert Spencer finds no subversive principle in his 'absolute' ethics, and we are left for practical purposes with the 'relative' ethics of compromise between altruism and egoism which is the morality of the common man. The significance of Nietzsche is that he announces himself fearlessly as an 'immoralist,' he demands the 'transvaluation of all values,' the complete revision of the moral standard, and the erection of a new code which he claims to have discovered by observation of the facts of life.

That Nietzsche was himself immoral according to accepted standards is not true. The practical immoralist is frequently a person with sound ethical ideas, and the great theoretical immoralist was a man of blameless life. He preached down pity, self-restraint and altruism, yet he himself seems to have been neither cruel, licentious, nor

exceptionally selfish. It is possible to sympathize with the admirer who, having travelled many miles expecting to find a personality of terrific egoistic force, was introduced to a German professor of gentle and unassuming address.

There is an initial difficulty to be overcome in seeking a clear understanding of Nietzsche's teaching, for we are encountered by the disconcerting phenomenon of a philosopher who refuses to argue. In his opinion the true philosopher is very different from the dialectician who belongs to the decadent succession of Socrates. Philosophy is an art rather than a science. It is the expression of a 'personality,' and every great philosophical system has the nature of an autobiography, expressing the reaction of a temperamental type to the experience of life.

But Nietzsche's fundamental thought is undoubtedly that of the significance of the 'Will to Power' (*Der Wille zur Macht*). He is to be reckoned with those thinkers who, dissatisfied with the Hegelian attempt to find an ontological principle in the purely intellectual activity, turn rather to something more 'primitive' and instinctive, the 'will to live' or the 'unconscious.' In his earlier years Nietzsche was profoundly influenced by Schopenhauer and Wagner, but his nature was incapable of remaining under the spell of any teacher. Finding pessimism and renunciation intolerable his mood changed from adoration to defiance. He substituted for the will to live, the will to power. This idea was not entirely new. Hobbes had thought of the desire for domination as the ruling motive in man and had imagined society as the necessary limitation upon the primitive state of war thus engendered; but in Nietzsche's hands the conception receives a far wider application. The will to power holds sway throughout the universe. It is not merely the necessity of obtaining food, the desire for life, which conditions the struggle upon which evolution depends, there is a pugnacity, an instinct for domination, which hurls every living thing against its fellow. The will to power is the meaning of life: life is strife. That which does not strive for the mastery over something else

is already dead. Every species has striven, each individual animal has passed its life in conflict ; and the result of this unremitting warfare, so far, is man.

In treating the Will to Power in any sense as an ontological principle it is necessary to guard against doing Nietzsche an injustice. There are passages in his unsystematic writings which deny the possibility of ontological speculation altogether. In these he appears as a Phenomenalist deriding the 'thing in itself' as a superstition, and giving countenance to the fundamental scepticism involved in the confusion of the categories of the true and the useful which has reappeared in Pragmatism. It is, nevertheless, at least clear that Nietzsche thinks of the will to power as determining the phenomena of life in species other than man.

On the necessity of giving free scope to the will to power is based the demand for a new morality. Man cannot be the goal of evolution. This puny and ridiculous creature is not the final achievement of the life force. There are yet higher types of being to be produced in whose eyes man will appear as ludicrous as does the monkey to man : after man the Superman.

'Man is something which must be surmounted,' cried Zarathustra ; 'what have you done to surmount him ! . . . The Superman is the meaning of the world. Your will should say : Let the Superman be the meaning of the world . . . But, my friends, let me reveal to you all my heart : if gods existed how could I bear not to be a god ?'

How then is this superior being to be produced ? By no other means than those which have availed to produce man. Conflict without pity is the only method by which the strong can prosper and man be transcended. But among modern men we do not find this struggle proceeding with its salutary vigour. The war is assuaged, and it is assuaged by the morality which man has contrived. Here then is the great indictment against morality : that it has invented the duties of pity and contentment and mercy, and all the host of evangelical graces of which the effect has been

to obstruct the play of the will to power, and with it the progress of the race. The morality of pity is therefore the object of Nietzsche's contemptuous invective. It is not a boon but a curse, a poisoner of the springs of life, a cowardly device by which man has sought to hide himself from the stern battle ; it is treason against the destiny of the world.

The task of the enlightened is at last revealed ; and Nietzsche flings himself upon it with prophetic fervour. It is necessary to bring about the reversal of all moral values and awaken man from the dream that love is good and peace desirable. A new commandment must take the place of the old. Instead of 'Be pitiful' we must read 'Be hard,' instead of 'Be merciful' remorseless struggle. This is the plan for producing the Superman. But, here again, Nietzsche is not entirely consistent. He is evidently not completely satisfied that the Will to Power is capable of reaching the goal unaided. In words which might be adopted as the programme of 'positive' eugenics he suggests that it should be assisted by conscious direction.

'It is possible to obtain by happy inventions types of great men quite different and more powerful than those who up to the present have been fashioned by fortuitous circumstances. The rational culture of superior man—that is a prospect full of promise.'

The question how this morality of pity has arisen leads Nietzsche to his famous distinction between slave and master morality. Adopting again an opinion of Hobbes, he holds that man is not by nature a gregarious animal, but a solitary creature seeking its prey alone. Man has however become gregarious, and in so doing has developed moralities of different kinds. These may be divided into two classes—the ethics of the dominant, and the ethics of the dominated. Among the rulers has emerged the ideal of nobility. For them the praiseworthy man is one who is a dangerous enemy, a courageous warrior, an efficient *dominus*, truthful and hard. The servile masses, on the other hand, naturally regard all those qualities as evil which tend to hurt them. The wicked man is, in their eyes, the cruel

dominant individual, while the good man is the harmless man who promises them peace. The praiseworthy characteristics are those which make servitude tolerable—pity, contentment, mercy.

Nietzsche looked round on modern Europe and found it very bad. It filled him with disgust, for he saw the slave ruling the master. Democracy, with its ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, is rapidly reducing all nobleness to the level of the herd, because the self-preserving instinct of the masses is sufficient to keep great individuals down. We Europeans are men who have lost their masters and are trying to rule themselves by representative assemblies of average men possessing neither courage nor insight. Nevertheless the only healthy form of society is one in which the stronger rule and the weaker obey.

In the great days of Paganism humanity was divided into its natural classes, the Masters and the Herd. There existed then a true aristocracy of powerful and dominant men from whom the Superman might have been evolved. The disastrous miscarriage of the natural course of development which has occurred is due to the greatest calamity which has ever overtaken the race—the triumph of Christianity. In this the Jews, a nation pre-eminently of priests and slaves, have imposed their morality upon their masters. As by some strange enchantment those who were made to be ruled have led their tyrants captive and have successfully carried through a 'slave insurrection in morals.' Since this victory of the weak things of the earth over the strong the Will to Power has been paralyzed. The strong have been fettered by the scruples of the weak and learnt to reverence the Christian God, the 'God of the sick.' Finally the Christian spirit has reached its most pernicious expression in the French Revolution and the spread of democratic ideas.

The situation is obviously desperate, but it is not hopeless. There are abundant signs of the dissolution of that religion with which slave morality is so closely allied, and Nietzsche himself has appeared and proclaimed the truth to the elect. It seems certain that our eyes will not see the final apocalyptic deliverance from grovelling virtue,

but there is no reason why we should refrain from gazing from afar at the promised land which our children are to possess.

Nietzsche's Utopia is a society rigidly divided into castes. The lowest order, which will comprise the vast mass of mankind, is quite frankly recognized as a slave caste. Upon these unfortunate beings will devolve the task work of the world, and among them Christianity will still be believed and taught, though it will not be believed by those who teach it. The ruling classes will take a kindly interest in the religious education of the masses, conceiving that the hope of Heaven will keep the worker contented with his lot. Immediately above the slaves will be a 'warrior' caste concerned with the more routine business of government. Finally at the summit will be the Supermen, dwelling in almost eremitic seclusion and directing the course of the human world.

What is the nature of the Superman? It has been said that Nietzsche's great contribution to ethics is the introduction of the idea of the Superman, and it is clear that his teaching culminates in this conception. But the merely formal notion implies nothing more original than that the ideal is something different from man's present condition. Any valuable suggestion must be sought in the content with which Nietzsche endows the conception; and when we attempt to determine this we are unfortunately lost in a maze of vague declamation. Even so sympathetic an interpreter as Mr. A. M. Ludovici admits that the outline of the coming 'master of the world' can be but dimly discerned. His suggestion that the required characteristics may be imagined to be those of the higher man of to-day farther developed does not help us, for we are bound to point out that the question as to who is the higher man of to-day will largely depend on what kind of Superman we are hoping for.

Two characteristics, however, seem fairly clear. First, he is to be a 'man of prey.' In him the Will to Power is to reach its most terrible expression. Having divested himself of all scruple, he will use all other beings without

remorse for his personal ends. Secondly, he is to be a philosopher, but by this Nietzsche does not mean us to understand a weaver of arguments or a registrar of opinion. He is to be a philosopher in the sense that he is to be a 'creator of values.' Like the God of the Nominalists he will stand above all law and impose morality by his will on those who are beneath. The closest approximations which Nietzsche finds to the Superman are the first Napoleon and Caesar Borgia.

Any hasty summary of a philosophy must be unjust by omission and distorted emphasis; and Nietzsche suffers more than others in the process, for the sting of his amazing personality cannot be at all conveyed. But even so it will be apparent that there are several valuable elements in his doctrine. It is as poet and prophet of the future of the race that he is important, as the forger of startling and suggestive thoughts rather than as system-builder. To Nietzsche as prophet we may safely listen when he points out that we are, after all, very contemptible creatures. It used to be the custom to set apart days for national humiliation; Nietzsche, the latest of the Puritans, summons us to a gigantic act of racial humiliation. Let us cease to talk about being the heirs of all the ages, and set about the task of producing some being who is more worthy of the title. When Nietzsche and the Eugenists dwell upon the interference with the natural process of the selection of the fit which has resulted from the development of the sentiment of compassion, they are upon firm ground. The only alternative to the proposal to reinstate the brutal natural law is the substitution of some method of conscious direction for furthering the physical well-being of the species upon which all man's mental and spiritual achievements depend for their continuance. But if the efforts of the Eugenists are to have any success, it seems that they must lead us away from the morality of hatred to a wider love. Nietzsche himself uses language of affection for the generations yet to come. Surely if we are to take thought for the unborn who can never affect our welfare we are summoned to a larger compassion. We are to love our neighbours, who

are separated from us by time, even more than we love those who are separated by space or than we love ourselves. This is not less true of the new duty as it affects the individual. It is difficult to suppose that any State arrangement could be devised for preventing by force the unfit from propagating their kind, or that any free community, which has thrown off a despotism of priests, would submit to the far worse despotism of doctors. It appears then that the only hopeful way of attaining the end which Nietzsche desires is to dwell on the duty which he despises and to persuade men to voluntary self-sacrifice for the good of posterity.

Nietzsche's exaggerated individualism is a useful protest against much that is weak in modern life and thought. In one of his most brilliant essays he says, in his violent way, that we must cast away the historical spirit if we would do the work for which we are fitted :

'The man who only regards his life as a moment in the evolution of a race or a state or a science, and will belong merely to the history of becoming, has not understood the lesson of existence and must learn it over again. This eternal "becoming something" is a lying puppet show in which man has forgot himself; it is the force that scatters individuality to the four winds, the eternal childish game that the big baby time is playing in front of us and with us: man can only find the solution of his riddle in "being" something definite and unchangeable.'¹

Nietzsche's ethical theory is perhaps chiefly interesting as a remarkable example of the attempt to pass from 'is' to 'ought.' The essays at deducing a principle of conduct from the laws governing physical evolution have mostly been carried out in so hesitating a fashion that their practical results have not been startling to the ordinary conscience. Nietzsche is restrained by no instinctive reverence for current standards, and that the attempt in his hands leads to a morality of hate will seem to most minds another proof of the futility of the whole method. Supposing it to be

¹ 'Schopenhauer as Educator.'

admitted that the Will to Power does really play that important part in physical evolution which Nietzsche claims for it, that is still no reason why it should be accepted as a regulative principle for human conduct. The reason has the right of criticizing values of which no argument about the evolutionary process can deprive it. It is possible to admit that many instincts and impulses have been of importance in evolution and yet to judge them to be, for us, bad. When we attempt to adjudicate upon the claims of Power to be an end in itself, we are immediately impressed by the vagueness and abstractness of the end proposed. Power can mean only the capacity to do something, and the numerous kinds of things which may be done determine the kinds of power which may be exerted. Further, the idea of power seems to involve that it is a means and not an end in itself. When the mind attempts to present to itself the question 'Is power good in itself?' it is inevitably carried on to the further question 'Power to be used for what purpose?' If the answer is 'to gain more power' we are involved in a vicious circle; if the answer is anything else we are driven to the conclusion that power derives its value from the end towards which it is directed. The Nietzschean is, in fact, suffering from the miser's delusion. The miser desires gold for its own sake, because his disordered mind has substituted the means for the end.

Nor does Nietzsche consistently carry out his own principle. As M. Fouillée has admirably shewn, the whole system breaks upon the verifiable fact that the gregarious creatures have won. No method of measuring force can be devised except by the results which it produces, and a theory, therefore, which elevates force to the place of the highest principle must be prepared to worship success. Now the history of the progress of the human race is obviously, from one point of view, the record of the victory of the more gregarious over the less gregarious. The 'slave insurrection in morals' has at least been partially successful. The type of individual imperfectly adapted to social life is being eliminated. Our prisons are full of men who have acted on the principle that the individual must

without scruple struggle for himself; they beat in vain against the walls which gregarious human beings have built around them. Judged then by the only possible test it seems that the social qualities are more powerful than the anti-social, and therefore, even if we accept the proposition that power is the supremely valuable thing, we are not driven to agree with Nietzsche that the logical result of this admission is the morality of hate.

The inconsistencies of Nietzsche's social ideal are sufficiently obvious, but it is the privilege of Utopias to be inconsistent, and we must not deny to the Nietzschean prize-fighters' paradise a licence which we permit to Spencer's suburbia *in excelsis*. Most creators of Utopias have, however, contrived that the Utopians should be able to hold the philosophy of their creator; but it is exceedingly doubtful if this would be possible in the Utopia of the Supermen. The vast mass of the servile caste will, as already explained, believe in Christianity. Unless we suppose that only one Superman is produced, we are forced to imagine a community of Supermen living in some tolerable approach to harmony. But this would be impossible if they accepted the Nietzschean ethics. Does the command to struggle cease to run when the stage of the Superman is reached? They cannot claim exemption; they, too, must produce a being higher than themselves, a Super-superman. They must therefore, *ex hypothesi*, contend among themselves, and in their warfare the society must be shattered. The warrior class alone is left to adhere to Nietzsche's philosophy. Such a Utopia is only an example of the impossibility of imagining a society based upon an anti-social principle.

But when all the objections which will occur to the 'mere dialectician' have been urged Nietzsche remains an arresting and pathetic figure. He is himself the embodiment of his own saying that philosophy is autobiography. Tortured by disease and neglect he answers with defiance and scorn. He is a man on the rack uttering strange and blasphemous cries. It is vain to hope to piece these cries together into a consistent cosmic theory, but they have their own significance, for the rack and the man stretched upon it are

parts of the Cosmos, and Nietzsche's philosophy is the reaction of a great personality to life as it presented itself to his experience. His influence is certainly not yet exhausted, for he expresses vividly some of the most vital tendencies of the half-conscious thought of the day. The doubts whether the Christian ethic is really tenable, the distrust of democracy and feminism, the fierce longing for a life more full of power and individuality which rises in the spirit of the herded town-dweller—all these find eloquent expression in Nietzsche. It may be that he will give force and brains to the movement for a new aristocracy; but it is to be expected that those who are influenced by him will not profess the full Nietzschean creed in public. For those even who sympathize with none of these things Nietzsche has his value; he rouses us from our 'dogmatic slumbers' by asking whether those virtues which we often praise and occasionally practise are really the admirable qualities we have been accustomed to think them. Through the effort to justify that which had been received by tradition and instinct, mercy, love and compassion will appear more truly rational. But, perhaps, the last words on Nietzsche 'as educator' have been said by Mr. Kettle in his introduction to the English translation of Halévy's *Life* :

'It would be very superficial to suppose that a thought so passionate could be altogether unreal. Zarathustra is a counter-poison to sentimentalism, that worst ailment of our day. He brings a sort of ethical strychnine which, taken in large doses, is fatal; but in small doses is an incomparable tonic. He disturbed many who were woefully at ease in Zion, and was a poet of the heroic life.'

W. R. MATTHEWS.

ART. III.—GLIMPSES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.* By C. J. ABBEY and J. H. OVERTON. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1878.)
2. *The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century.* By J. H. OVERTON and F. RELTON. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1906.)
3. *Letters to Gilbert White of Selborne from his Friend the Rev. John Mulso.* Edited by RASHLEIGH HOLT-WHITE. (London: R. H. Porter. 1907.)
4. *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S.* Now first published from the original Manuscript by the Rev. J. HUNTER. (London. 1830.)
5. *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley from October 14th, 1735, to October 24th, 1790.* With Introductory Essay by T. JACKSON. (London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1903.)

And many other Works.

THE object of this article is to illustrate from contemporary authority the general position and activity of the Church of England during the eighteenth century. The subject, of course, is wide; one can only just touch the fringe of it in a few places; and if broad generalizations are made, it will be understood that they ought always to be taken as subject to necessarily large qualifications. For the truth is that though we ticket the centuries and label the ages in our easy way, and say that this was the age of reason and that of faith, or that here the Church was alive and there was dead, the moment we begin to look below the surface we inevitably find that the most sceptical of sceptics had their moments of adoring faith, and that the bones, which we assumed to have been dead and dry, had their periods of dancing activity and might have even belonged to St. Vitus himself. In fact, the more we know of a period the less we feel inclined to dogmatize about it; and the

more roundly and eloquently we condemn, the more certain we are, when the warmth of our righteous indignation has passed away, to hear the voice of our victim chiding us with the searching reproof, '*Tecum habita. I was but a man most particular like you.*'

The eighteenth century has found censors in abundance, and the Church, and especially its clergy, have not escaped the lash, though of late sturdy apologists have pleaded for fair play and have been generous enough to act as counsel for the defendant, when it seemed that judgement was certain to go by default. But when all is said and done the main verdict has to stand, and the sentence passed is one, if not of condemnation, at least of disapprobation for undue sloth, for worldliness, for excess of prudence, for poverty of ideal, for failure even in obvious duty. If we judge by results, what do we see? The greatest fact of all in the life of the Church of England during the eighteenth century was the Methodist movement, when vast numbers of its people broke away and made a schism which still deepens, though it may not actually widen, with every passing year.

The Methodist revival was followed and, indeed, to a great extent was accompanied by the Evangelical movement inside the Church of England, with tremendous results for good which are felt to this day, but also with other results not so manifestly for good, which in course of time rendered inevitable the great Tractarian movement that swung half the Church violently round in a contrary direction. What many scarcely realize as they ought is that the Church of England started the eighteenth century with everything in its favour. It was the winning side. It was practically supreme. It was enormously popular. It was really and truly the national church to a degree which it certainly is not to-day. The Roman Catholics were distrusted, hated and feared. The Dissenters were relatively few in number, except in London and the larger towns. The Corporation and Test Acts were still enforced, though the Occasional Conformity Act was practically a dead letter. Independents, Presbyterians,

and Quakers had but scanty influence and little political power. And so the Church of England had a free field to run and be glorified. But it certainly did not run, and no one can fairly say that it was glorified. Its ecclesiastics were powerful at Court, especially during the reign of George II, when the King, who cared not a straw about religion, save as it fortified the Hanoverian succession, left Church preferments entirely to good Queen Caroline. It was she who filled up the sees as they fell vacant, and bishops anxious for promotion laid uncanonical siege to the powerful favour of Lady Sandon, her Mistress of the Robes. Those who are familiar with the memoirs of the period know that a Welsh or Irish bishopric was usually regarded as a mere stepping-stone, and that ambitious ecclesiastics considered that they had failed in their careers if they got stuck midway, say in Ripon or in Bristol. Swift filled the air with his laments and reproaches that he was left to rot in the Deanery of St. Patrick's, while others who had not served their party half so brilliantly were promoted to the richest prizes on the Bench. There were, of course, many good bishops in spite of the fact that some others were made bishops because they had been such bad deans, and the career of the saintly Bishop Wilson, of the Isle of Man, stands out with all the sharp contrast of apostolic and primitive simplicity. There were also learned and philosophical bishops, like George Berkeley and Joseph Butler, though as a rule the learning of the Greek Play Bishop does not seem very profound according to modern standards, and still less profound if judged by the most learned prelates of the seventeenth century. The Bangorian Controversy, started by Bishop Hoadly, who never once set foot in his remote diocese during the six years which he held it, was one of the most unprofitable theological controversies which have ever provoked a paper war and filled the top shelves of libraries with dusty volumes. As Bolingbroke sarcastically said, the Bishop stripped himself to the bare position of a mere layman with a crook in his hand, and many of his brethren during the century did their best to qualify for the same

description. Others frankly revelled in the pomp and dignity of their palaces, never stirred abroad except in a coach and six, and preferred to remember rather that they were the Lords Spiritual of the Anglican Establishment than the direct successors of the Fishermen of Galilee. It is difficult not to write satire when one writes of these Georgian prelates, but let us give them their due. They flaunted no vices like the contemporary Cardinals of Rome. They lived moral lives. They preached respectably. If they were not 'saints,' neither were they 'sinners.' They believed in one God and wrote innumerable theses to prove it. They might not be sympathetic to new ideas, and they were earnestly, sincerely, truly afraid of enthusiasm. But they were not bigots. They had little of the persecutor in their dispositions and still less of the temper of the martyr. One or two of their number qualified for the nickname of 'the Beauty of Holiness.' Others, like Warburton, plied the clumsy bludgeon of a literary Hercules about the heads of free-thinkers. A great many more were men of solid common-sense, who aimed at carrying their dish very level, who raised respectability to its highest power, and whose most glaring fault was that they made too easy terms with the mammon of unrighteousness. 'Whatever is—is best.' Pope's famous saying really sums up the spirit of the age, so far as an age can be summed up in an epigram. The eighteenth century was full of good sense, and on the whole it was, like Disraeli, 'on the side of the angels.' It reconciled natural and revealed religion with a wave of the hand, was glad to find that egoism and altruism could be shewn to blend, if justly regarded from exactly the proper angle of vision, and rejoiced to think that the benevolence of Christian Charity was to the philosophical eye really indistinguishable from that 'cool self-love' which might be deduced from the letters of Lord Chesterfield as a sound working maxim for getting the best out of this world and the next. We cannot fairly condemn the eighteenth-century Church dignitaries as unjust, untrue, unworthy or ungodly. But they assuredly were most profoundly inadequate. We can confidently

acquit them of being goats, but they certainly were not prize sheep.

Meanwhile, Parliament was more than friendly to the Church, and the flock was well-disposed. Yet the result was beyond question a failure. The reign of the Puritan Saints had ended in universal execration. Here then was an unique chance for a plain, sensible religion with plain, sensible bishops at the head of it. But the most glaring consequence was apathy and stagnation. The first half of the eighteenth century is really an extraordinarily powerful argument in favour of those who say that the Church and the clergy never display the best that is in them unless they are in a minority, and are engaged in perpetual struggle against fearful odds. Put them in an assured position of ease and lo ! in the quaint words of Ezekiel, they 'sew soft pillows for their arm holes,' and 'study to be quiet' in a sense that St. Paul would have little approved.

Prudence is a virtue. Excessive prudence may be a terrible curse. Coleridge in his *Table Talk* has an excellent passage on this head :

'The fatal error into which the peculiar character of the English Reformation threw our Church has borne bitter fruit ever since—I mean that of its clinging to Court and State instead of cultivating the people. The Church ought to be a mediator between the people and the Government, between the poor and the rich. As it is, I fear the Church has let the hearts of the common people be stolen from it. See how differently the Church of Rome—wise in its generation—has always acted in this particular. For a long time past the Church of England seems to me to have been blighted with prudence, as it is called. I wish with all my heart we had a little zealous imprudence.'

Of course, there are strong excuses to be made. Granted that it was a very unheroic, unidealistic age—was there not a good deal to be said for accepting things as they were ? Undoubtedly. England had had enough, and more than enough, of heroics in the previous century. Heroics and fidelity to one set of first principles, carried to absurd extremes, had, among other causes, powerfully contributed

to bring about the Civil War. Heroics, in connexion with another set of first principles, had established the reign of the Saints, which had proved to be a tyranny even more hateful than absolutism. The ordinary Englishman was pretty sick of both. He craved for 'the mean.' Whether it was golden or leaden, he did not much care. He just wanted to jog quietly along, to let things bide and not to meddle, for meddling meant burnt fingers. And so the ordinary, average, decent man settled down to an average, decent observance of the outward forms of average, decent religion.

Lecky has summed up the case for the Church as strongly as it could be put, when he says in an admirable sentence :

' Its love of compromise, its dislike of pushing principles to extreme consequences, its decorum, its social aspects, its instinctive aversion to abstract speculation, to fanatical action, to vehement, spontaneous, mystical, or ascetic forms of devotion, its admirable skill in strengthening the orderly and philanthropic elements of society, in moderating and regulating character and blending with the various phases of natural life, all reflected with singular fidelity English modes of thought and feeling, the strength and the weakness of English character.'

And the upshot was that the nation was fairly content with the bad consequences, as with the good. So far as the nation consciously desired anything, it desired what was 'reasonable' both in politics and religion. What it actually got in politics was the Hanoverian Succession and the Georges, and at the head of affairs in religion the domination of the so-called Latitudinarian Bishops. Beginning with Burnet, who was a frank opportunist at a time when opportunism was essential to the peace of the State, the Church of England got a succession of divines devoted to the *via media*—Cumberland, Stillingfleet, Tillotson and Secker, all concerned to shew the reasonableness of religion, the reasonableness of the Episcopacy, the reasonableness of the Establishment, the reasonableness of taking a second look at the big fence and then of finding sufficient reason for declining it and preferring the open gate. These divines

were the soul of caution and of moderation, and they had need to be, because in the first quarter of the century probably ninety per cent. of the rural clergy were Jacobites at heart. It is easy for us to sit and adjudicate, but we are not living with a king over the water, under the continual shadow of a possible restoration which might conceivably have involved the reintroduction of the Romish religion. Few things are more extraordinary in the religious life of the eighteenth century than the astounding belief, shared alike by learned bishops and the common rabble, that John Wesley was a Jesuit in disguise. Even in 1766 a Dean of St. Paul's could utter such a sentence as this: 'Every tabernacle of Methodists is in truth a seminary of papists. Vanity may have some share, but the principal end and motive is filthy lucre.' Or take Horace Walpole's judgement in 1778, when he says: 'Calvin and Wesley have just the same views as the popes. Power and wealth are their objects. I abhor both.' Could anything be more fatuous and wrong-headed? And yet Walpole was a particularly shrewd observer of what was going on about him. The horror of 'enthusiasm' sprang up naturally on ground in which for half a century the Church had been planting the seeds of excessive caution. To the alarmed imagination of those in high places, Methodism seemed to forebode the subversion of the social as well as of the religious order. Religious feeling had been ruthlessly suppressed. Emotion had been frowned down. Fervour had been held to be unseemly, zeal troublesome and obnoxious. There was bound to be a Nemesis, and the price paid by the Church of England for carrying its fashionable virtues to excess, for allowing quiet to degenerate into sloth and for becoming the compliant and subservient handmaid of the State was the tragic loss of thousands of those who should have been, and might have been, its most faithful and zealous sons and daughters. While the State was blindly preparing the loss of the American colonies, the Church was preparing the loss of numbers of its flock. No doubt a man like George Whitefield took to schism and dissent as a duck takes to water; but only the sheerest folly and

ineptitude drove such a loyal and devoted Churchman as John Wesley out of the Church of England. Nothing was more natural than that in such an atmosphere the active spirit of true religion should faint of inanition. It did not actually perish. In 1732 daily services were held in forty-four London churches, one or two actually holding four services in the day. Even at the worst of times and in the worst of places a faint breath of life dimmed the surface of the mirror which the sceptics held in triumph to the Church's lips. But the swoon was sound, and the trance was long. The age was unusually coarse, despite its superficial elegance. The Court was dull, lumpish and gross. Politics were corrupt. And so, though good, sound doctrine was often preached, the life was rarely lived. Scarcely a single church was built in England between the reign of George II and the end of the eighteenth century, and churchmen scarcely took the trouble to keep the fabrics of the existing churches in decent repair. And when they did repair, they botched.

Yet the century had opened with abundant promise. The seventeenth century had closed with a period of decided church activity, which may be said to have lingered on during the first quarter of the eighteenth. Look at the evidences ! In 1690 Philip, Lord Wharton, founded his Bible charity, by means of which a thousand and fifty Bibles were distributed gratis every year. In many districts the greatest possible eagerness was shewn to procure these precious gifts. People walked miles to get them, and Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, describes how he used to catechize the children and hear them recite the seven Psalms, which for them was the qualifying test. In 1698 Dr. Thomas Bray founded the S.P.C.K., and the S.P.G. followed in 1701. The Queen Anne's Bounty was founded in the early years of the reign of that eminently sound but painfully uninspired churchwoman, and in 1710 Parliament actually passed a Bill granting a sum of 350,000*l.* for the erection of fifty new churches in London and Westminster. However, not more than a dozen were built, and the project was never completed —a fact which indicates not that the needs of the metropolis

had been fully met, but that the hot fit of churchmanship had passed away. And even so it may be feared that this solitary church-building enterprise of the British Parliament was attributable quite as much to anti-Jacobite feeling as to zeal for true religion.

Nevertheless, it would be uncharitable to deny or to minimize the existence of a genuine, if limited, religious movement when we consider that in fifteen years no less than 117 charity schools, educating 5000 poor children, were founded in London and Westminster, as well as 500 other schools throughout England and Wales. These were all Church schools, and it is important to remember that they were supported entirely by voluntary subscriptions, the main source of income, beyond endowments, being the collections which followed the monthly and quarterly charity school sermons, which became quite a feature of the Church year. The children were taught reading, writing, and what was curiously called 'the grounds of arithmetic,' the boys remaining at school until they were safely apprenticed out, while the girls were trained for domestic service. The State did not contribute a farthing, nor does there seem to have been the slightest idea that the State had any duty or obligation in the matter of educating the poor or Black Guard children—as they were commonly described—of the metropolis. About this time, moreover, a number of religious societies were formed with the title of 'Societies for the Reformation of Manners,' and copious use would seem to have been made of the pious agency of tracts. For example, Robert Nelson, the famous non-juror, wrote a tract called the *Soldier's Monitor*, of which 30,000 copies were sent to the army in Flanders, though none would seem to have fallen into the hands of Corporal Trim and Uncle Toby. The same distinguished author compiled another tract entitled *Kind Cautions against Swearing*, of which 800 were distributed gratis among the hackney coachmen of London, though again, we fancy, with slender permanent influence either on them or on their descendants. There is also to be taken into account the extraordinary popularity of certain religious books. Nelson's *Companion*

for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England, published in 1704—the book which is said to have been chiefly instrumental in rescuing Good Friday from its prevailing neglect in the Church of England, sold 10,000 copies in four years and a half. Law's *Serious Call*, Baxter's *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, Melmoth's *Great Importance of a Religious Life*, published in 1711, all enjoyed a popularity to which it may be doubted if any modern religious book can shew a parallel. Indeed, Melmoth's volume was vigorously alive so late as fifty years ago, and 150,000 copies of it were actually sold in the first forty years of the nineteenth century. The secret of such popularity is a mystery, for if we take into account the difference of population and the enormous proportion of illiterates, such figures represent a popularity which might make envious the late publishers of *Proverbial Philosophy* or the present publishers of the 'New Theology.' Then, too, there was the immense vogue of the printed sermon, as well as of the 'gift' or endowment sermon. That is another unexplained marvel, though it is doubtful if the volumes were always read, considering the admirable condition in which surviving copies may usually be met with. Yet scoff as one may, the popularity of the sermon was undeniable, and the faith was as eagerly defended in sermons as it was assailed in pamphlets. The Church, however slow in its assault on Satan, was proficient in the noble art of self-defence. Take a curious example of the popularity of the sermon. In 1736 the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* offered prizes to his readers for the best poem on the subject of 'The Christian Hero.' The first prize was to be a silver medal, bearing the head of Lady Elizabeth Hastings on one side and that of General Oglethorpe on the other. Lady Elizabeth objected to such a liberty being taken and the editor, Mr. Sylvanus Urban, had to find a substitute. And he chose the head of Archbishop Tillotson. The second prize was to consist of Tillotson's sermons, the third of Archbishop Sharp's sermons, and the fourth of Cooke's sermons. Can anyone seriously conceive of such prizes being offered to-day by

the leading general review or magazine?—which the *Gentleman's Magazine* then was.

Mention has been made of Robert Nelson. He was, beyond question, the bright particular star of the Church of England laity during the overlapping seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Born in 1656, he died in 1714. The son of a prosperous Turkey merchant in the City of London, he was a pupil of Dr. Bull, the Bishop of St. David's, and of Tillotson, at that time Dean of Canterbury. Himself a conscientious non-juror, he was the intimate friend of all the leading non-juring divines, and it is a remarkable fact that many of the saintliest men of that time belonged to the little band who cheerfully sacrificed their livings and their dignities for a principle which posterity may admire but can scarcely approve—men like Dean Hickes, and Bishops Ken, Kettlewell and Lloyd. For fully twenty years, from 1690 to 1710, Nelson was out of communion with the official Church of England, and it was not until four years before his death that he received the sacrament of reconciliation from the hands of Archbishop Sharp of York, one of the best and manliest ecclesiastics of his period. But Nelson's influence on Church opinion was hardly affected by this circumstance, and the surprising fact remains that it was a layman who urged most convincingly and earnestly the supreme duty of frequenting the sacrifice and communion of the Eucharist, who pressed for weekly celebrations, and appealed most untiringly to the Church to do its duty in the neglected field of social, educational, and moral reform. How far Nelson was ahead of his generation may be judged by an enumeration of some of the causes for which he pleaded, and for which he wrote a book dedicated to the members of the nobility, and pointing out to them the abundance of their opportunity for doing good. The building of churches, the distribution of Bibles, the provision of training colleges for candidates for Holy Orders, the foundation of parochial libraries, the care of the widows and orphans of the clergy, the building of charity schools, the providing for the able-bodied poor in a way of industry, the construction of almshouses for

decayed housekeepers and tradesmen, and the augmentation of clerical livings—such were the schemes to which Nelson devoted his wealth and his influence within the highest circles in the land, and a century which produced scores of hospitals and almshouses cannot be said to have failed wholly in charity.

The 'upper classes' were very much the same then as now—though probably rather harder and more selfish. Religion as a vital force and principle of conduct was at a low ebb in high society. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's verdict in 1710 was that there were more atheists among the fine ladies than among the lower ranks, and that honour, virtue, and reputation were as much laid aside as crumpled ribbons. Yet in 1753, when a Bill to naturalize the Jews was passed, the ladies wore badges with the legend : 'No Jews ; Christianity for ever.' Even more important is the attitude towards the Church of a man like Horace Walpole, who represented—none better—the very soul of the eighteenth century in so far as the Whig oligarchy can be said to have had a soul at all beyond its intense egoism. Polished *ad unguem*, with a pretty wit, perfect manners, a liberal share of self-conceit, a critical but intensely alert mind, Walpole would doubtless pride himself that he had got rid of all absurd prejudices, and that the only light he followed was that of reason. The head was in the ascendant ; the heart was deemed rather a vulgar organ. To be brilliant and to sparkle was better than to give out heat ; to say a clever thing counted for more than to do a kind action. That, of course, is the permanent characteristic of all smart society, and the eighteenth century carried elegance to its daintiest and airiest pinnacle.

We find Walpole writing thus : 'Church and Presbytery are human nonsense, invented by knaves to govern fools.' His correspondent was a clergyman : what a pity that we have not the reply ! Or listen to Walpole's comment on Dr. Johnson's habit of prayer : 'One seems to be reading the diary of an old almswoman, and, in fact, his religion was not a step higher in its kind. Can anyone check a smile when in his old age, we might say his dotage, he tried

to read Vossius on "Baptism"?' One more extract we will take from the year 1791, when Walpole had begun to feel conscious of mortality.

'I have made,' he writes, 'no vow against going to church. I have always gone now and then, though of late years rarely, as it was most unpleasant to crawl through a churchyard full of staring footmen and apprentices, climb a ladder to a hard pew to hear the dullest of all things, a sermon, amid the croaking and squalling of psalms to a hand-organ by journeymen brewers and charity children. As I am to go soon to church for ever, I do not think it my duty to try on my death beforehand.'

It is worth remark that this letter was directed to a lady correspondent, the Countess of Ossory. How brutal and coarse the sarcasm sounds, but how serenely unconscious of its brutality is the writer! And yet he, like all his class, cultivated 'sensibility' as the finest flower in the moral garden. One sees that the real feeling of the man is that religion is a superstition, good enough for the credulous and for the lower orders, but unworthy of the serious attention of those who had sharpened their wits on the whetstone of reason, or had learning enough and enough of large experience to believe Jehovah as exploded as Jupiter.

Of course there were exceptions, and even in the eighteenth century there were aristocratic families which blended piety with elegance. There was the Earl of Dartmouth, for example, a member of Lord North's Cabinet and the Secretary of State in charge of America, whose counsel, had it but been followed, might have prevented, or at least postponed, the outbreak of war with the colonists. He was what was called a few years later a sincere Evangelical, was the friend and supporter of Lady Huntingdon, and the generous auxiliary of John Thornton, the real founder of the Evangelical movement. It was Lord Dartmouth's intercession in high episcopal quarters which secured ordination for John Newton, the friend and spiritual guardian of William Cowper, and it was he who appointed him to the curacy of Olney, to which Thornton added the

then almost extravagant allowance of 200*l.* a year. And it was of Dartmouth that George Whitefield wrote the servile couplet :

‘We boast some rich ones whom the Gospel sways
And one who wears a coronet and prays ;’

lines which at least have the merit of shewing that the majority of coronet wearers were not among the patrons of the preacher.

Another noble family in which piety was traditional was that of Hastings, the head of which was the Earl of Huntingdon. Several of the Earls bore the name of Theophilus and consciously did their best to live up to its large assumption, and to this family belonged Selina Lady Huntingdon, who founded the Connexion which bore her name, a Connexion which still survives—thanks to its endowments—though the purpose of its separate existence is practically dead. Whitefield was her chaplain for a time in 1748 and she made it the great purpose of her life to establish chapels up and down the country, in places where the standard of the parish clergyman’s preaching fell short of the Evangelicalism which she desired. She was also anxious to influence the aristocracy and so built chapels of her own in such places of fashionable resort as Bath, Tunbridge and Matlock, and it was not until 1781 that these were registered as Dissenting places of worship, following the decision of the Consistorial Court against her claim to appoint so large a number of ‘private chaplains.’ Among these chaplains had been Berridge, Venn and Romaine, who broke with the Connexion when the link with the Church was thus snapped, and became leaders of the Evangelical movement within the Church proper. For a time high society was disposed to shew an interested curiosity in the preaching of Whitefield and others. Many of the highest in the land flocked to hear Whitefield’s dramatic eloquence, just as they flocked to hear Edward Irving in Ely Place seventy years later. But fashionable curiosity is fickle as the wind, and it cannot be said that any great permanent religious influence was exercised on the upper classes by the whole-hearted devotion

of Lady Huntingdon, or by her enthusiastic dedication of fortune and energies to the cause of Christ.

The atmosphere of high society was against the religious life, just as—to judge by what one hears and sees—it is to-day. Perhaps more so, inasmuch as Society was so much smaller and more exclusive then, and there was therefore less opportunity of forming a religious coterie. In fact, so strongly was this felt that not a few men and women who had the leisure and the inclination determined that the only way for them to live the religious life was to 'flee from the presse and dwell with soothfastnesse' in the deep seclusion of the country.

Readers of *John Inglesant* will remember the exquisite picture of the life of the tiny community at Little Gidding at the time of the Civil War, described in chapters which exhale the fragrance of refinement, learning, and mystical religion, happily combined in a rare blend of home and cloister. Half a century later, a certain Francis Cherry, a Berkshire gentleman of means, formed a kind of community of non-jurors at his mansion of Shottisbrook, where any non-juror was sure of a welcome for as long as he liked to stay. And another interesting case of retirement was that of Lady Elizabeth Hastings, who, during the first forty years of the eighteenth century, was as famous for her charities as was the Baroness Burdett-Coutts for a similar stretch of years in the nineteenth. She never married, though 'to love her was a liberal education,' and when, on her brother's death, she inherited all the property which her mother had brought as dowry to her father, the Earl of Huntingdon, she settled down at Ledstone Hall, near Leeds, and devoted herself to good works and pious charities.

These charities were most remarkable, and the list of the schools which she founded, the almshouses she built, the parsonages she erected, the churches which she helped to endow, fills a score of pages at the end of her biography. She used to ask her friends, 'Where is there a poor member of Christ, whom I can comfort and refresh?' and she once explained that in benefactions she gave the first place to justice, the second to charity, and the third to generosity.

It would not be difficult on those principles to exhaust a fortune.

Ralph Thoresby used to visit her at Ledstone, and he has described how prayers were always read four times a day to the whole household, prefaced in the evening by the study of some such devotional book as Burkitt on the Epistles or Bishop Taylor's *Holy Living*, and how one evening, when there was dancing for the health of the body, her ladyship took care that there should also be extra prayers for the health of the soul. Herself, when young, the pupil of Nelson and Archbishop Sharp and the life-long friend and benefactress of Bishop Wilson, she was a great patroness of the clergy, especially of such as were evangelically inclined, and her views as to how a clergyman should rule his life and conversation may be gathered from the instructions which she laid down for the guidance of any future Vicar of Ledsham. He was, she said, by no means to content himself with 'an orderly and regular discharge of his duty as the same is marked out and prescribed for him by human laws'; he was to add to these obligations, required of him by man, 'the adequate and only sufficient measure of the Gospel, duly abounding in the works of his holy calling.' He was also to exercise himself in private prayer; he was to be much in conversation with his people and impartially give them their meat in due season. Whenever he paid a visit, he was to see that 'some part of the discourse should be upon some vital subject of religion,' and he was to enforce the absolute necessity of having it planted in the heart and dilate upon 'the hindrances whereby it is rendered unable to strike root and fix itself there.'

Another interesting example of deliberate retirement from the noise of the world into the depth of the country, for the purpose of living a more spiritual life, is afforded by William Law, the author of the *Serious Call*, who retired to King's Cliffe in Northamptonshire, where he settled in 1743-4 with two devout ladies, Mrs. Hutcheson and Miss Hester Gibbon. The two ladies had over 2500*l.* a year between them, and their working theory was that the whole ought to be spent upon charity and the poor, save what was consumed

by their own modest expenses. So they founded charity schools for boys and girls, who were exceptionally well drilled in religious exercises, and they gave away so lavishly to the needy that the whole district soon swarmed with beggars, much to the annoyance of the resident rector and the farmers of the neighbourhood. The plan of daily life was carefully mapped out. Law rose at five in the morning, and there were family devotions at nine, after mid-day dinner, and after tea. At tea time, we are told that Law used to stand about and eat raisins, and he retired at nine after smoking one pipe and drinking one glass of water. It seems tolerably clear that either of the ladies with him would have been delighted to become his wife. But Law was not a marrying man. 'If John the Baptist,' he once rather shrewdly observed, 'had offered his heart to some fine young lady of great accomplishments, would not they have put an end to all that was burning and shining in his character?' Sad to relate, the ladies quarrelled, and Law had some difficulty in keeping the peace, and when death removed his restraining influence, they grew so tired of one another—though they still continued to live together—that they left orders that they should be buried as far as possible apart in the same churchyard. Yet they were both saint-like women. Of Mrs. Hutcheson it was said very charmingly that 'in her countenance child-like simplicity and Divine love sate smiling,' while we have a little thumb-nail portrait of Miss Hester Gibbon drawn by no less an artist than Gibbon himself. He describes her as 'a great curiosity, whose dress and figure exceed anything we see at masquerade, while her language and ideas belong to the last century.' And then he adds sarcastically—'In point of religion she was rational, that is to say, silent.' One can imagine the scoffing, brilliant nephew and the old-fashioned, elderly, Evangelical aunt, taking discreet refuge in silence and refusing to be drawn into argument. Yet she was once heard to say—and the remark is worth recording—'I wish Nephew would leave publishing alone.' The *Decline and Fall* was nothing to the pietistic old lady of King's Cliffe.

But what of the ordinary clergyman of the period? Did

he correspond to Lady Betty Hastings' somewhat exacting requirements? It is to be feared not. We may quote the verdict of one who possessed the *anima naturaliter Christiana*, if simple, plain-living, gentle Englishman ever did. Cowper, the poet, writes as follows in 1781:

'The generality of the clergy, especially within these last twenty or thirty years, have worn their circinges so loose that I verily believe that no measure that proposed an accession of privilege to an order for which the laity retain but little respect would meet with the countenance of the legislature. . . . In this part of the world, at least—[that is to say in Cowper's corner of Bucks]—many of the most profligate characters are the very men to whom the morals and even the souls of others are entrusted.'

This is a sweeping judgement, and of its sincerity none will doubt, who know from his letters the story of Cowper's life and his relations with those two God-fearing parsons, Newton and Bull. But it is notorious that gentle natures are sometimes capable of exceptionally harsh verdicts. Cowper obviously had nothing in common with the rather worldly type of parson who too frequently filled the Georgian—and especially the best Georgian—rectories. His was a spiritual nature; theirs were apt to be spiritual least of all. Their feet were as clayey as the most miry roads in their parishes, and their most eager apologist cannot deny that they were earthy. They were denounced even from contemporary pulpits. For example, here is Dr. Newton, Dean of St. Paul's, reproving his laxer brethren in 1766 in the following terms:

'Many of the clergy seem to have no notion of the reserve, the decency, the gravity of deportment becoming their character; they are not canonical so much as in their dress; they mix in parties of pleasure and diversion as much as other men; neglect their studies and what is worse, neglect even the necessary duties of their calling.'

Best of all, let us take a sample of the ordinary private clerical correspondence of the day, written by friend to friend without the thought of future publication. Here

are one or two extracts from letters written to Gilbert White of Selborne by an old college friend, a certain John Mulso, who was Rector of Meon Stoke in Hampshire. Mulso is looking out for a curate and writes to ask White if he knows of a likely man. He says :

' If you have an eye for a worthy young man that has a good conscience, sound lungs, apostolic patience and perseverance, a fund that will enable him to wait till November Chapters and February collections, charity enough to bear with a man who throws all his weight of duty on his shoulders, and education enough to make a good companion, keep your eye on that man and when Time demands let us meet. 60*l.* per annum is my price for him.'

At least there was no concealment and no pretence. Mulso wanted a man who would do all the work of the parish for him and leave him free. Moreover, he was an eager pluralist after the fashion of his time. He says in another letter :

' I have the promise of a second living of between 200*l.* and 300*l.* a year. But the Incumbent is alive, though old and ill of a cancer in the mouth, and my Patron verges on fourscore. You see, therefore, I am on a betting chance. The lay, however, is for me, for I never saw the Bishop better.'

It is just possible, no doubt, that betting chances on presentations are secretly calculated at the present day in a somewhat similar fashion, but we fancy that a Prebendary would hesitate to set them down on paper with such engaging frankness. Again, in describing the advantages and disadvantages of Meon Stoke, Mulso says, ' I have the hateful circumstance of a *cum capella.*' That sentence is most illuminating. A chapel of ease, two or three miles distant from his rectory, was to him not an opportunity of influence but ' a hateful circumstance.' It meant that the Rector would occasionally have to ride through muddy roads when he would otherwise be sitting snug at home; or else it entailed the annoying expense of a curate. Anyhow it was a nuisance, a bore, ' a hateful circumstance ' that the folk of some outlying hamlet of his parish had been pampered

by having a chapel of ease built for them to save them the walk to the parish church. And yet the Reverend John Mulso was a good enough sort of man, a sound pillar of the Church and State, and a brother of the worthy Mrs. Chapone, who wrote books of pious advice to young ladies which were probably much more popular presents with those who gave than with those who received. And even he had his rare moments of vision. 'There does not,' he once wrote, 'lie so much spiritual power and efficacy in the clergy of the Church of England now as did formerly.' But it does not seem to have occurred to him that his own failings were in part the cause.

Mulso was, as we have said, a typical pluralist, and it is almost incredible to what extent pluralism abounded in the eighteenth century. Imagine the Deanery of Westminster regarded as a mere appendage to the Bishop of Rochester, or the Deanery of Rochester held in conjunction with the Bishopric of Bangor. Dr. Newton, who criticized his brethren from the pulpit of St. Paul's, was not only Dean of St. Paul's but also Bishop of Bristol, and he publicly called attention to the scruples which forbade him from holding at the same time one of the richest City livings. It is plain to see that others thought him a fool for having such scruples and that he was not quite sure that his critics were not right. The sarcasm about the zeal of the Anglican clergy for loaves and fishes dates from the eighteenth century, and its justice at that time was beyond denial. The offence was rank, and it was taken as the outward and visible sign of internal corruption. Excuses were made, but no serious defence is possible. The ranks of the clergy were certainly crowded with eager and voracious pluralists. These were the ordinary Church and State rectors, who had done well in their profession, who had got preferment, and lived a life unvexed by high ideals, just a shade better perhaps than their ordinary parishioners. But there were other clergy in the land, who had not got preferment, the poor, or as they were styled, 'the inferior clergy.' And the lot of the stipendiary curate was above all men most wretched. There are flies even now in the pure amber of curatial existence,

but if the curates of the Georgian era could read the imploring advertisements for their successors in the *Guardian* of to-day they would probably believe that the Millennium had indeed arrived. The case of the unbefooled clergy is stated with extraordinary vigour, bitterness and ability in a little book published by the Rev. Thomas Stackhouse in 1722. It was addressed to the Bishop of London, and gives a lamentable picture of the miseries of men struggling to keep their heads above water on thirty pounds a year. Here is a fragment of one of the writer's outbursts :

' O my lord, how prettily and temperately may a wife and half a dozen children be maintained with almost 30*l.* per annum ! What a handsome shift will an ingenious and frugal divine make to take it by turns and wear a cassock one year and a pair of breeches another. What a precious sight it will be to see a man of God with his shoes out at toes and his stockings out at heels, wandering about in an old Russet coat or a tattered gown for apprentices to wag at and wits to break jests on ! And what a noble figure he will make in a pulpit on Sunday, that has sent his Hooker and Stillingfleet, his Pearson and Sanderson, his Barrow and Tillotson with many more Fathers of the English Church into limbo long since to keep his wife's pensive petticoat company and her much-lamented wedding-ring.'

' I venture to say,' he breaks out in another bitter passage, ' that an ordinary bricklayer or carpenter that earns constantly but his two shillings a day upon the whole has clearly a better revenue and more command of money than this gentleman divine, seated in his country curacy or commencing hackney-preacher here about town, where fair words will butter no parsnips nor all the learning in the world bring home from the market one joint of mutton. . . . The very sexton pretends to outvie us in point of income and is not afraid to tell us that any common footman with seven pounds yearly and seven shillings a week board-wages, with a good entire livery, his master's cast-off clothes, and now and then some accidental vails and private advantages, is in a more prosperous and thriving condition of life than the highest Stipendiary curate amongst us.'

The remedies which Stackhouse proposed were that pluralities should be abolished, that promotion should be

given to merit rather than to interest, that the number of ordinations should be reduced, that the poor curate should be allowed to take an occasional collection for himself, and that the lord bishop should condescend to look after his diocese a little more closely, and, remembering the apostolic injunction that a bishop should be given to hospitality, should occasionally offer a dinner to his humbler brethren.

Macaulay's scathing description of the state of the inferior clergy is too familiar to need quotation and seems to be better founded on fact than many of his purple indictments. Take a few examples of the humiliations heaped upon their humble heads ! The private chaplain of a great lord deemed himself lucky if he got 30*l.* a year and pickings. He was often styled 'the highest servant in the house,' not so much in compliment to his cloth as in ironical allusion to the fact that he occupied the topmost garret. In one of the *Tatler* essays an ex-chaplain to an honourable family describes how he had been expected to rise from the table at the end of the first course. But he had had the temerity to sit the dinner through to the end, amid the gathering frowns of the family above the salt, and had been told next day by the butler that his lordship had no further need for his services. In fact, it was considered a daring thing for the chaplain, or Young Levite, or Mess John, as he was sometimes called, to presume to eat tart in the face of his patron. The Archbishop of Canterbury used to entertain the Privy Council at dinner at Lambeth Palace on St. Stephen's Day. The chaplain entered for the purpose of saying grace, and retired until the right honourable company had been pleased to make an end of eating and drinking. Then he re-entered in order to return thanks. His own meals were taken at the steward's table.

It is hardly surprising that there were many domestic chaplains of the type of the Rev. Thomas Tusher, as depicted by Thackeray in *The Virginians*, or even of the grosser type of Parson Square, who is the joy of those who approach *Tom Jones* in the flush of youthful cynicism. We must not, of course, forget Parson Adams or Dr. Primrose, or

still less that nameless good clergyman of 'The Deserted Village,' who was passing rich with 40*l.* a year—as well he might be, for Dr. Primrose got no more than 35*l.*—and yet on that modest emolument contrived to keep open house to every passing vagrant, while

'At church, with meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorned the venerable place;
Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.'

Then, as now, the parish clergyman was expected to be able to spread a bountiful table before the wandering poor and to be prompt in the relief of all parochial distress, even when his own young ravens were vocal with unsatisfied hunger. 'Better not have young ravens,' said the saintly Richard Baxter; who laid down the maxim that it was inexpedient for a clergyman to marry if he had a poor cure. He put the matter very naively :

'A minister,' said he, 'can scarce look to win much on his flock if he be not able to oblige them by gifts of charity and liberality, and a married man hath seldom anything to spare. Moreover, most women are weak and apt to live in fear of want, if not of covetousness, and many have wants real or fancied of their own to be supplied. And, again,' he added, 'the pleasing of a wife is usually no easy task.'

It says more for the candour of Baxter than for his sense of humour—not a strong point with him as with many other saints—that he wrote these sentences in a eulogy of his dead wife, Margaret.

Then there was the class of parson admirably typified by Dr. Johnson's old school-fellow and life-long friend, Dr. Taylor, of Ashbourne. He was a pluralist, in whom there was no false shame. He was proud and happy to be Prebendary of Westminster, Rector of Bosworth in Leicestershire, and Lecturer of Ashbourne in Derbyshire. A rich man, he kept up his house at Ashbourne in something like state, possessed a butler who looked, according to Boswell, as grave and reverend as a bishop, and played the part of a local magnate soundly devoted to the Devonshire interest

at Chatsworth. Boswell could not understand why Johnson visited him so constantly, for he was a most indifferent conversationalist. 'He has a strong mind,' replied Johnson, who on that occasion was anxious to say the best he could for his friend. But another time, when he spoke of the reverend Prebendary he summed him up in that glorious phrase, 'His talk is of bullocks.' Bullocks! There were probably scores of comfortably placed rectors up and down the shires, whose favourite topic of conversation was either bullocks or the chase. But the point which we must not forget, is that the generality of their contemporaries were not offended on that account. And, as Canon Overton has well said :

'If they, the clergy, lived and dressed too much like laymen, by so doing they were able to mix with the laity on equal terms, to enter into their feelings and come at their real mind. And if the clerical standard of religion and morality was not a very high one, it was at any rate higher than that of the average layman over whom their influence was on the whole, I believe, distinctly good.'

In this connexion there is an interesting but thoroughly characteristic story told by Pastor Moritz, a Genevan clergyman who visited England in 1782 and took a walking tour which included Oxford in the itinerary. He put up at the Mitre Hotel, and found there a room full of clergymen drinking beer out of pots. There was no closing time in those days, and midnight found them still drinking their beer. Then as morning drew on, one of them rose, yawned and said 'Damn me! I have to read prayers this morning at All Souls!'

There is also the pleasant case of Dr. Whalley, one of the Thrale and Johnson group at Streatham who, in 1772, was presented to a very lucrative living on one condition only—that on no account should he go into residence. And the reason of this anxious stipulation was that the place was so unhealthy that it was feared his precious health might suffer. So Dr. Whalley took the living and promptly put in some poor wretch of a stipendiary curate to do the work and

catch the *contagio loci*, whatever it might be. If he escaped, all the better. If he suffered—*vile damnum*. The breed was plentiful. Or take the highly characteristic remark of the Master of Trinity to one of his junior Fellows, who had been offered and was inclined to accept a chaplaincy at Bencoolen in India. ‘Don’t think of it,’ said the Master, ‘you are far too good to die of drinking punch in the torrid zone.’

Even better as an *aperçu* into the real feeling of the times is an answer which Dr. Savage, Dean of Windsor, once made to George II. The Doctor had been making a very prolonged stay in Rome and, on his return, the king remarked that he had been there long enough to convert the Pope to Anglicanism. ‘I had nothing better to offer him,’ said Dr. Savage simply, and the essential spirit of Pluralism is transfigured in the words. But it was the age of Walpole and of those formed in his school, and

‘No one’s virtue was over nice
When Walpole talked of a man and his price.’

Some few of the more fastidious might be offended by the grossness of the hunting parson in the shire, or the Agag gait of the fiddling priest in the London drawing-room. Occasionally, too, a satirist would be moved to set in his pillory

‘The jovial youth who thought his Sunday task
Was all that God or man could fairly ask,’

or, summing up the clergy in bulk, would exclaim :

‘Except a few with Eli’s spirit blest,
Hophni and Phineas may describe the rest.’

It was a parson who penned the following cynical lines of advice to a young man just entering the ministry :

‘Remember well what love and age advise,
A quiet Rector is a parish prize ;
Who in his learning has a decent pride,
Who to his people is a gentle guide,
Who only hints at failings that he sees,
And finds the way to fame and profit is to please,’

The theory was : ' Anything for a quiet life. Don't worry. Don't make folks uncomfortable. Let sleeping dogs lie. Be thankful for your blessings. They might, perhaps, be more ; but then, egad, they might be less. No doubt, the Squire drinks too much. 'Tis the way with Squires. The poor are degraded. But they always were. God is in His Heaven and George is on his throne. The Parish Church is rotting overhead and the walls sweat green mould through the dirty whitewash. No matter, the paint on the royal arms is dry and bright ; my lord's funeral hatchment will just cover the ugliest patch of fungus, and we will all get to Heaven some day if we keep clear of the abandoned Scarlet Woman on the one hand and the pestilent enthusiasm of the Methodists on the other.'

There was also another type of village parson which is well known to those who have read the lives of John Wesley and the early Methodists, the parsons who led the village mobs when the wandering preacher entered their parishes, often flustered with liquor and raging and roaring like bulls of Basan to the greater glory of Church and State. Such an one was the Rev. Robert Lomas of Monyash in Derbyshire. John Benet, the Methodist, describes how in 1742 he went to Monyash to preach and had just given out a hymn when the vicar and a crowd of lead-miners burst into the room :

' As soon as we began to sing he began to halloo and shout as if he were hunting with a pack of hounds, and so continued all the time we sang. When I began to pray, he attempted to overturn the chair I stood on, but he could not, though he struck it so violently with his feet that he broke one of the arms of the chair quite off. When I began to preach he called to one of his companions to pull me down, but they replied, " No, sir, the man says nothing but the truth ; pray hold your peace and let us hear what he has to say." He then came to me himself and took me by the collar of the shirt, and pulled me down ; then he tore my coat cuffs, and attempted to tear it down the back ; then took me by the collar and shook me. I said, " Sir, you and I must shortly appear before the bar of God to give an account of this night's work," '

One of those present was so incensed at the parson's outrageous conduct that he prophesied, 'If that man die the common death of man, I am much mistaken.' And, sure enough, the Rev. Robert Lomas fell over a precipice one night when in liquor and broke his neck, but as the accident took place thirty-four years later it may not have been the prophecy which killed him. This was no isolated case. There were many Lomases in the Church of England, and scores of parsons who, without sinking to quite the lowest depths, were men who tippled and fuddled, and were no better than their neighbours. 'Where no vision is, the people perisheth.' Visions were scarce in scores of English villages throughout the eighteenth century. There are cases on record in which seven years went by in a parish church without a single administration of the Holy Communion. But perhaps that stands to the dead parson's credit. At least it may be taken as a token that he knew his hands to be unfit to serve the altar.

It was, indeed, the rule and not the exception for celebrations to be rare. Take the evidence, for example, incidentally given by Kidder, the saintly Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the short account which he wrote of the Rev. Anthony Horneck, preacher of the Savoy and grandfather of Goldsmith's 'Jessamy Bride.' The Bishop lays great stress on the regularity of the Celebrations at the Savoy and says with manifest delight but with equal surprise :

' He, Horneck, administered the Holy Communion on the first Sunday of every month and preached a preparation sermon on the Friday preceding. He did it also on the great Festivals. He administered it twice in the day, in the morning at 8 o'clock and at the usual time after the morning sermon. The number of the communicants held a great proportion to that of his auditors and their devotion was very exemplary. The number was so great at both times that it will hardly be believed by those clergymen who have been confined to the country and have seen the small number of those who attend upon this holy service. . . . I will add that I do not remember that I did ever behold

so great numbers and so great signs of devotion, and a due sense and profound reverence becoming this great act of divine worship, in my whole life.'

This Anthony Horneck has a special title to remembrance, because he was one of the first to found societies of young men with what he called 'methodized' rules. A few of these rules may be quoted. Each society was obliged to choose a minister as its director. The members were forbidden to discuss any controverted point of doctrine. They were not to debate the perilous problem of Church and State. They were to use no prayers but those of the Church of England. Those who were absent from a meeting paid a fine of threepence ; those who attended contributed a thank-offering of sixpence. Every Whit-Tuesday the carnal satisfaction of a 'moderate dinner' was permitted, to be followed by a collection. Members were enjoined to love one another, to speak no evil, to pray seven times a day, to keep close to the Church of England, to transact all things peaceably and quietly, to give all men their due, and to obey their superiors both spiritual and temporal.

The epithet of 'methodized,' which Horneck applied to these rules, at once arrests attention, and when we find that Anthony Horneck was a friend of Samuel Wesley, the Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire, we are tempted to attribute to the preacher of the Savoy the real origin of the name of Methodist, which was given to the famous little Oxford Society founded by Samuel Wesley's sons, John and Charles, in 1729. The limits of this article exclude any discussion of the rise of Methodism or the deeply interesting question of the relations subsisting between the new movement and the Church out of which it sprang, and from which it has been so widely divided. But this at least may be said, that all the best Evangelical elements in the Church of England, official and unofficial, heartily welcomed the new movement at its inception and did their best to help it forward. John Wesley was perhaps the last to see, what became clear even to a woman like Lady Elizabeth Hastings before her death in 1734, that there

were dangerous schismatic tendencies at work which, if unchecked, were sure to lead promptly and inevitably towards separation. And we ought also to remember, when we lament the lethargy of English religious life in the eighteenth century, that this new movement spread like fire in a pinewood after a period of long drought. How can it be said that the spirit of religion was dead in England when John Wesley, beginning his marvellous career of itinerant preaching at the age of thirty-six, travelled 225,000 miles before his death in 1791 and preached 40,000 sermons? The great majority of these sermons were delivered in the open air to immense congregations of men and women, who cheerfully walked miles to hear him and often stood patiently for hours, packed in silent and dense masses in a village street through the hours of night waiting for the dawn, when they would rouse the light-sleeping preacher with a hymn. The great throngs which drew together to listen to George Whitefield's tempestuous rhetoric, with its lurid pictures of hell and damnation, and the blatant terrors of the wrath to come, are more easily understood. This was religious melodrama *in excelsis*, and the crowds sobbed and thrilled and leapt for joy as the great gusts of intolerable emotion swept over them in obedience to the eye of the preacher or the tone of his voice. Whitefield could draw down the lightning and strike his hearers dead with terror. But Wesley was different. There was an austerity about this man which Whitefield never possessed. He was a warm-hearted ascetic, a practical mystic, and he never wholly lost that old sense of ecclesiasticism which had distinguished him among the Fellows of Lincoln. No religious leader can desire a stronger combination of particular virtues than those which blended in John Wesley, and no combination is rarer. And the common people heard him gladly—as the common people are always ready to hear any man whose lips have been touched by the live coal from the altar and who lives the life he preaches.

There is a curious paragraph in *The Craftsman* newspaper, dated towards the end of 1739:

‘From Halifax in Yorkshire we hear that by the preaching of the Methodists in those parts the spirit of enthusiasm has so prevailed that almost every man who can hammer out a chapter in the Bible is now turned expounder of Scripture, to the great decay of industry and almost the ruin of the woollen manufacture, which in those parts seems to be threatened with extinction for want of hands to carry it on.’

What are we to make of such a statement? The exaggeration is patent. It recalls the extraordinary stories which came from Wales a year or two ago during the religious ecstasy of Evan Roberts’ revival. But in many of the moorland dales of the West Riding and the North, and in almost all the mining districts, the common people went frantic with the new-born ‘enthusiasm.’ It was not only a new movement for many of them; it was a new gospel. Indeed, it may be strongly suspected that for thousands it was the first time they had ever heard the Word with power, or indeed had ever heard the Word at all. The appalling state of utter Paganism in which, for example, not only the lead miners of the Mendips, but the agricultural population of the villages at the foot of the same hills, were living towards the close of the eighteenth century is graphically told by Hannah More in describing her efforts to found a Sunday School for the children of her poor neighbours. And yet the Cathedral of Wells was not a dozen miles distant and the stately ruins of Glastonbury Abbey, the cradle, as some say, of Christianity in England, were visible from the Mendip slopes.

When John Wesley, towards the end of his days, was once asked his opinion of the Establishment he uttered the noble saying: ‘Let it stand for me. I neither set it up nor pull it down. But let you and I build the City of God!’ Is it too much to say, if we look steadily at the condition of the Church of England during the eighteenth century, that far too much heed was paid to the Establishment and far too little to the building of the City of God? The eighteenth-century clergy put off the cassock of the priest, or at least they effectually covered it by the livery of the State. The Church flung aside ecclesiasticism; it

utterly rejected the ascetic spirit ; it lived so much in the world that it became worldly ; it neglected the poor ; it was far too lenient to the vices and the foibles of the rich. Two great reactions followed. One was the reaction which hardened into angry, bitter, political Dissent, based on the necessity of the conversion of the individual by means of a spiritual convulsion ; the other, which followed long after, was the reaction towards a re-birth of the old ecclesiastical spirit, without which the Ecclesia cannot find her true expression. Convulsions came, because convulsions were necessary ; and a cataclysm was needed to break up the long and obstinate fallow of the eighteenth century.

ART. IV.—REINCARNATION.

1. *Sacred Books of the East.* Translated by various Scholars, and Edited by the late Right Hon. F. MAX MÜLLER. Fifty Volumes. (Oxford : at the University Press. 1875-1905.)
2. *Historia Philosophiae Graecae et Romanae ex Fontium Locis contexta.* Locos collegerunt, disposuerunt, notis auxerunt H. RITTER et L. PRELLER. Editio Sexta. Curavit G. TEICHMÜLLER. (Gothae : Sumtibus F. A. Perthes. 1878.)
3. *The Book of the Dead.* Edited by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. (London : Kegan Paul. 1898.)
4. *The Kabbalah : Its Doctrines, Development and Literature.* By C. D. GINSBURG. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1865.)
5. *Jâtaka in Pâli.* Edited by V. FAUSBÖLL. Seven Volumes. (London : 1871.)
6. *Jâtaka-Mâlâ.* Edited by J. H. C. KERN. (London : Ginn and Co. 1891.)

And many other Works.

‘**THERE** is nothing new under the sun,’ said the royal philosopher of old. In many departments of life this saying is true even to-day, and especially so in matters of

thought. People seem now to be recurring to the selfsame ideas, theories and fancies which have prevailed again and again at long intervals in the history of our race. Each great division of the human family attains a certain level in civilization, a position in which great material advance in art and science has been reached, attended by great wealth and luxury at one end of the social scale, and unbounded distress at the other. Then there begins a decadence in character and morals ; and then, before the inevitable catastrophe, there seem always to prevail the same general tendencies of thought. The student of the history of philosophy cannot avoid perceiving this. When India was nearing the end of the Vedic period, a wave of materialism arose in that land and spread at least as widely as it afterwards did in Greece, in Rome, and again among ourselves about the middle of the nineteenth century. The history of the Atomic Theory, of the Theory of Evolution, of Pessimism, etc., presents almost parallel instances. The modern Animistic Theory is not very modern after all, and that of Humanism is merely the old hypothesis which claimed Euhemeros as its author. Haeckel's Monism is the ancient Indian *Advaita* doctrine : and so in many other instances. But in no case is the truth of our contention more clearly evident than in that of the doctrine of Metempsychosis or Transmigration, which is now in some measure being revived among us and seems as if, under the name of Reincarnation, it might possibly become a fashionable craze and last as long as such crazes generally do among ourselves. In this eagerness for 'some new thing' again we resemble the Athenians in their decadence. To the thoughtless and half-educated an old theory *rechauffé* is 'quite the latest thing out.' Its truth or falsehood is not even a secondary consideration.

It would be hard to say where belief in the Transmigration of the soul first arose. Its earliest appearance in history is in ancient Egypt, where we can trace its gradual development. In the 'Book of the Dead' we read that the *Ba* or soul of the 'justified' dead man has power given it to 'accomplish transformations.' By means of the

magic contained in certain chapters of that ancient work the soul can transform itself, for instance, into a hawk, a lotus, a phoenix, a heron, a swallow, a 'son of the earth' (serpent), or a crocodile. The Rubric at the beginning of Chapter 72 says of the deceased, 'If he knew this adjuration when on earth, or if this chapter be put in writing on the coffin, he shall go forth by day in all the forms he wishes and enter into a place without his being expelled.'¹ The soul could therefore change its appearance as it pleased and appear in the form of a bird, a plant, a quadruped, whenever it desired. But this does not quite amount to transmigration, for it does not seem to have been *born* again under these varied forms. The idea is very similar to that found in Japanese fables, where we read of the *tanuki* (*Nyctereutes viverrinus*), the fox and the cat being able to turn into all kinds of things. In our European fairy tales many similar instances are recorded. But in Egypt it was the *soul*, which, *after death*, had power to assume these forms.

Somewhat later, in the 'Tale of the Two Brothers,' we find a further development of this doctrine. The younger brother Bata's heart (*ab*), taken from the top of the cedar, becomes a beautiful ox. When the ox is slain, two drops of his blood, falling to the ground, spring up in the form of two charming and magnificent Persea trees, which retain Bata's personality and consciousness. When these are cut down, a small chip of their wood enters into the mouth of Pharaoh's favourite, who had previously been Bata's faithless wife, and is in due time born as her son and becomes King of Egypt. This tale proves that Herodotus and other Greek authors are right in asserting that belief in transmigration existed among the Egyptians. It appears to have sprung from the idea, which apparently prevailed among the aborigines, that the ghost wandered miserably round the grave, seeking for itself some corporeal covering.

In early Aryan India we find no trace of transmigration in the first three Vedas. The dead go to Yama's realm,

¹ Cf. also the Rubric to Chapter 86.

as we read in *Rig-Veda* x 14, where the soul of the deceased is thus addressed :

‘ Go thou forward, go thou forward by the ancient paths whither our ancient fathers have gone. Mayest thou see both kings, Yama and the god Varuna, rejoicing in wonted wise. Unite thyself with the fathers, with Yama, in the highest heaven by thy merits. Having abandoned sin, go home again, vigorous, and unite thyself with a body.’

The last words doubtless refer to the idea that the soul forms for itself a body from the essence of the offerings brought to the grave or place where the ashes are deposited. A later Indian idea was that the righteous were changed into sunbeams, or into stars, as took place in the case of certain famous heroes of Greek mythology also. Belief in Metempsychosis first meets us in the Śata-patha Brāhmaṇa and in the Yajur-Veda. Hence it has been inferred that the theory was introduced among the Aryan conquerors by the aborigines, together with many other debasing rites and dogmas.

It is well known that the Australian natives held this belief, for the first white men who visited Australia were supposed to be the reincarnated spirits of departed aborigines, and were therefore treated with awe and reverence. There seems indeed good reason to infer that neither Metempsychosis (birth in human form, as the word means in its limited sense) nor Metensomatosis (birth as an animal) originally formed part of the belief of either Aryans or Semites. Whenever they accepted it, they did so under the influence of some inferior race with whom they had come into contact.

In the Laws of Manu (*Dharmaśāstra*, Book XII), the doctrine has already become thoroughly incorporated into Hinduism. Manu tells us that Reincarnation is a punishment for sin, and he explains at some length what special offences cause a man to be reborn as a plant, as one of the lower animals, as a woman, an outcast, and so on. Hindu philosophy accepted the dogma as undoubtedly correct. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* (Book II) we are taught that the soul

is eternal and imperishable, one with the Deity. Individual souls are born again and again, changing their bodies at death, as men here exchange worn-out for new garments. Krishna urges the hero Arjuna to fight and slay his relatives, because their souls cannot really die but must be reincarnated.

'Neither I indeed,' he says, 'nor thou, nor these' lords were ever non-existent, nor indeed shall we not all exist hereafter. . . . This (impassible soul) is never born, nor does it die. . . . As a man, having left off worn-out garments assumes different new ones, so, having left off worn-out bodies, the embodied soul (*śarīrin*) proceeds to other new ones.'

Elsewhere in the same poem the doctrine of the ultimate absorption of the soul into the *Paramātma* or Supreme Soul is taught in a way that reminds us of the Egyptian belief that the deceased became identified with Osiris. But before this, in most instances, modern Hindus expect to undergo 84,000 reincarnations in the most varied forms, reappearing as animals, human beings, gods and demons.

Buddha borrowed his belief in Reincarnation from the popular Hindu thought of his time. 'The transmigration (*samsāro*) of beings has its beginning in eternity,' he says. According to him, all existence is misery. All action (*Karma*) causes the continuation of existence with transmigration, until the 'fruit' of all one's doings has been 'eaten.' Hence every enlightened man should aim at extinction (*nirvāna*), first that of the passions and then of existence. But he may have to pass through many heavens and hells as well as many an earthly life ere he attains that dreary goal.

It is no doubt through India that the Reincarnation doctrine has quite recently reached us. Those who have introduced it to us have accepted just so much of the Hindu dogma as pleased them and rejected the rest. But, right or wrong, the Hindu has reasoned the matter out thoroughly; and it is silly in the extreme to take little bits of his conclusions, because they happen to suit our fancy, and refuse to have anything to do with the rest, because 'they

don't seem very nice.' Metempsychosis, however (using the word in its wider sense), was ages ago prevalent in some parts of Europe, though it died out when Christianity came to shed fuller light on the problem of the After-life.

So far as we know the doctrine we are considering was in early days introduced by Pythagoras. It cannot be found in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, in spite of Porphyry's fanciful attempt to detect it in the 'Cave of the Nymphs' with its double entrance.¹ The nearest approach to it is in the legends of Proteus and Circe; but here we have Metamorphosis and not Metempsychosis. The companions of Odysseus are for a time turned into swine, but this takes place through magic, while they are still alive; and from that state they regain their original form. This legend may indicate some Pelasgian belief capable of being developed into the doctrine of Reincarnation, but we have no proof that this development really took place. Pythagoras (*circa* B.C. 582-500) may have² learnt the idea in part from the Orphic and Bacchic Mysteries (if it was taught in them), but this is doubtful. It is safer to accept the unanimous statement of ancient authorities that he spent some considerable time in Egypt and owed this part of his philosophy to the priests, who secretly instructed him in their lore, and whose language he studied, if we may believe Antiphon. Xenophanes says that at Croton Pythagoras once interceded for a dog which was being beaten by its master, saying that in its howling he recognized the voice of a dear friend who had died. Heracleides Ponticus informs us that Pythagoras said of himself that in a former birth he had been Aethalides, a son of Hermes. The god promised him any boon he should ask, except immortality. Aethalides requested to be permitted to remember in each successive incarnation all that had happened to him in every previous life. This was granted. As Euphorbus he took part in the Trojan War and was wounded by Menelaus. This he

¹ *Od.* xiii. 103 *sqq.*

² Lactantius, Augustine, Josephus (and perhaps Cicero) held that Pythagoras' master in this matter was the philosopher Pherecydes, who studied in Egypt.

proved in a later birth, when known as Hermotimus, by entering Apollo's temple and there recognizing the shield which Menelaus had borne. Hence the well-known lines of Horace :

. . . 'Habentque
Tartara Panthoiden, iterum Orco
Demissum, quamvis clypeo Troiana refixo
Tempora testatus nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae.'

He was afterwards born as Pyrrhus, a Delian fisherman. Lastly he entered the world as Pythagoras. This reminds us of Buddha's claim to relate (in the *Jātaka*) how, in previous lives, he was at one time 'a monkey on a river-bank,' at another a 'virtuous elephant,' and yet again Prince Vessantaro, and so on *ad libitum*. Empedocles (B.C. 444) in a similar manner details some of his own transmigratory experience thus : 'For already once on a time became I a damsel, a lad, a shrub, a bird, a mute fish in the sea.'¹ All scholars remember the remarkable verses in which he tells us that 'when one has stained his dear limbs with crimes, with bloodshed, he must during thrice ten thousand seasons wander far from the Blessed Ones, being through need born as divers kinds of mortals.' Of such a man he says that 'Heavenly wrath pursues him to the deep, but the sea spews him forth to earth's floor and earth to the beams of the unwearying sun, while the latter hurls him into the whirlwinds of the upper air : one receives him from another, but all hate him.'

Here, as clearly as in Hinduism or Buddhism, we are taught that Transmigration is a punishment for sin. Pythagoras seems to have held something of the same belief, for he bade his disciples beware lest the Furies (*i.e.* the Passions) should drag back the soul after death, and imprison it in another body. He is said to have abstained from eating flesh, because of his belief in Reincarnation. Souls, he held, originally dwelt in the stars.

¹ Ηδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγώ γενόμην κούρη τε κόρος τε Θαυμός τ' ολωνός τε καὶ εἰν ἄλλοις ιχθύς.

Pindar says that the souls of good men 'remain for three periods in either world,' but he does not distinctly mention Reincarnation. Plato tells us that the soul is pre-existent and immortal, originally dwelling with the gods. When a soul is unable to follow a god in his flight, 'being filled with forgetfulness and evil it grows heavy, and grown heavy it moults and falls to the earth.' The soul that has seen most of the divine mysteries is born as a philosopher, that next to it in knowledge becomes a just king, and so on. Ten thousand years elapse before a soul returns to its pristine condition, because it does not grow its wings till then. Two classes of men are exceptions to this rule.¹ If thrice in succession they have selected one of these two kinds of life, then, in the third period of a thousand years, their souls gain wings, and in the three-thousandth year they depart. The rest are judged when their first life is ended. After judgement, some go to places of punishment below the earth, others, exalted by their just deeds, ascend to the sky and there dwell according to their deserts. After a thousand years in heaven or hell, both classes of souls return to choose a second earthly life. Sometimes a human soul becomes incarnated in an animal, and afterwards in a human being once more. But its degradation into becoming the inmate of an animal's body is due to its having never beheld the truth. Accepting the Pythagorean idea that there exists only a fixed and unchangeable number of souls, he teaches, under the myth of Er the Armenian, that, after at least a thousand years' punishment subsequent to their death, the wicked draw lots for fresh lives. Some thus obtain those of birds and beasts. Before being permitted to assume these bodies, they have to cross the plain of Lethe and drink a draught of oblivion from the River Ameles. Those who drink least of it forget least of their past existence on beginning a new life on earth. Learning is only recalling what we knew in a previous state.

In what he says about the shorter period of three thousand years' transmigration Plato agrees fairly well with what Herodotus tells us was a tenet of the

¹ ἡ (ψυχὴ) τοῦ φιλοσοφήσαντος ἀδόλως, ἡ παιδεραστήσαντος μετὰ φιλοσοφίας.

Egyptians in his own days. It is probable that the philosopher's fancy amplified what he had learnt from Pythagoras' three famous books that Philolaus had sold him. Pythagoras himself, too, very probably added something to what Pherecydes and his Egyptian instructors had taught. It seems, in short, almost certain that belief in Transmigration among the classical nations of antiquity was an importation from Egypt, and not of native growth.

Among one of the leading European races, however, this doctrine may possibly have had a different origin. According to Caesar, the Kelts of Britain and Gaul believed in Metempsychosis. Hence Lucan, addressing the Druids, says: 'As ye assert, the shades seek not the silent halls of Erebus and the pale realms of the God of the under-world: the same spirit rules their limbs in another sphere: if ye sing that which ye know, death is the mid-point of a long life.'¹

He proceeds to tell us that this belief did away with the fear of death. It is remarkable that in India too the same reason is adduced by Krishna in the *Bhagavad Gītā* in order to persuade Arjuna to despise death and fearlessly enter the battle. We must not forget that ancient writers have a tale of how Zamolxis, a servant of Pythagoras, taught his master's doctrines to the Scythians, through whom they are said to have reached the Druids. A more probable theory is that the Kelts in Britain learnt these ideas from the lower aboriginal race whom they found in the country when they came.

The doctrine of Transmigration or Reincarnation never commended itself in ancient times to the people of civilized Europe as a whole. Some, however, did hold it through Plato's influence. In fact, shortly before and for some centuries after our Lord's birth the dogma enjoyed a certain vogue in some circles. Hence no doubt it was that

¹ 'Vobis auctoribus, umbrae

Non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longae (canitis si cognita) vitae
Mors media est.'

Western Mithraism—as distinguished from the Mithraism of the Persians—adopted the tenet and taught Reincarnation as one of its leading doctrines, if we may accept what Eubulus tells us, as reported by Porphyry. This is only one example of the way in which Mithraism, which was during a considerable part of the first four centuries the greatest rival of Christianity, assimilated its teaching and practices to those of the various forms of Eastern and Western heathenism with which it came in contact. Eubulus states that the highest of the three divisions of Mithraists abstained altogether from animal food, because of their belief in Metempsychosis, and that they taught this latter doctrine in their mysteries and 'orgies.' Various grades of initiates had to assume in some measure the appearance of such animals as lions, hawks, etc., in order to teach men to recognize the kinship and community (*κοινότητα*) which existed between them and the brutes, in virtue of such transmigration. In reference to Reincarnation Christianity and Mithraism contrasted with one another as strikingly as in any other point. The doctrine seems to have found in Mithraism its last refuge for a time, and to have died out almost entirely with the downfall of the latter faith, as we shall see a little later.

In the first century of our era there seem to be some slight traces of the existence of a belief in Reincarnation among certain Jewish sects. Among them it was connected with the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, which is taught in the Apocryphal book of Wisdom, and was held by Philo and by the Essenes. Josephus tells us that the Pharisees believed in the Metempsychosis of the just. Origen says that some of the Jews were believers in Metensomatosis, and he is of opinion that it was this idea that underlay the question asked of Christ by His disciples regarding the man born blind: ' Rabbi, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind? ' (St. John ix 2). In the *Pirqê Avôth*, the oldest tractate in the Mishnah, dating probably from *circa* A.D. 200, it is said that the soul enters this world and is born perforce and against its own will. The Talmud states that souls originally dwelt in the seventh

heaven, being kept there as in a storehouse. They are sent down gradually and in turn to become incarnate in human bodies on earth. As this idea developed, it would naturally open the door for the gradual entrance of the doctrine of Transmigration into the Jewish mind, especially as the dogma had secured much influence in some of the nations with which the Jews had most to do. It was never, however, accepted as a tenet of their faith.

Jerome tells us that some converts from heathenism to Christianity secretly retained belief in Metempsychosis. He speaks of it as being an evil inheritance, which affected men like vipers' poison. This dogma, however, was too much opposed to the spirit and principles of Christianity to be able to perpetuate itself for very long in the Church. Some heretics, however, embraced it, among others certain leading Gnostics, one of whom was Carpocrates.

It was taught also in the Hermetic books. The *Asclepius*, commonly ascribed to Apuleius, says that those who have lived well on earth are at death released from imprisonment in this world and from the bonds of mortality; but that to those who have lived wickedly a return to heaven is refused, and they are condemned to transmigration into other bodies, a thing unworthy of a holy soul. This doctrine professed to be taught by Hermes Trismegistus or *Tat*, the Egyptian Thoth. How much of it was actually of Egyptian origin it is perhaps impossible to say for certain.

Belief in Reincarnation seems to have died out as a superstition among the Jews until it was suddenly revived in fresh vigour at the end of the thirteenth century by Moses de Leon in his well-known work, the book *Zôhar* ('Splendour'). He pretended that this was the composition of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai (*circa* A.D. 70-110), but it was really a clever forgery of his own. This famous treatise for many generations exercised an enormous influence upon learned and unlearned alike, its teachings being accepted as the quintessence of philosophy. It states that all things sprang from the Infinite (*En Sôph*) by emanation. Souls are pre-existent in the World of Emanations, but are under the necessity of descending to earth and

inhabiting human bodies. Each soul is originally androgynous, but when it comes down to earth it is divided into male and female. At marriage the two divisions again become one. Souls which here in this world manifest an evil disposition had chosen evil and wickedness before their descent. The reason for coming down to earth is that souls may here gain experience, and may then reascend and again become united with the Infinite. Love and Fear aid the soul in attaining this goal. When these two emotions have become completely united in the service and worship of God, then will come about the restoration of all things. If, during their first earthly life, souls do not become perfectly righteous, another term of life on earth is granted to them, and, if needed, yet a third. But transmigration may occur not more than three times at most. If after two lives on earth any soul is found to be unable to acquire the strength and experience which it needs, it is united with a stronger soul, and the two are incarnated in one and the same human body that one may help the other. When all souls have succeeded in passing their probation, Satan will become an angel of light and will disappear. The creatures and the Infinite from which they all emanated will again become one.

This last statement reminds us very forcibly of the *Advaita* doctrine of the Hindus. As in India and in the *Sūfi* philosophy of Persia, so among the Jewish philosophers too, when the conception of the living, personal God faded from men's minds, its place was taken by a dreary Pantheism and its almost necessary sequel, the doctrine of Reincarnation.

We have already seen that original Buddhism inherited from Hinduism the doctrine of Metempsychosis. This has perpetuated itself to the present time among the Buddhists of China, who belong to the *Mahāyāna* or 'Great Vehicle' division of the Buddhist world. The form which the idea has now taken in the popular mind of China is that the lower animals have souls, which may under favourable circumstances rise to a higher plane of existence and become human. Hence in some Chinese monasteries

the Buddhist monks train animals with the object of enabling them to attain to human status at their next birth. Such kindness to animals, however, is said not to be found in practice incompatible with gross callousness and brutality towards human beings.

In Japanese Buddhism the same thing is very noticeable. A writer who has spent many years in Japan says :

' Because of his faith in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the toiling labourer will keep his wheels or his feet from harming the cat or dog or chicken in the road, even though it be at risk and trouble and with added labour to himself. The pious will buy the live birds or eels from the old woman who sits on the bridge, in order to give them life and liberty again in air or water. . . . Yet, while all this care is lavished on animals the human being suffers. Buddhism is kind to the brute, and cruel to man.'

Whatever may be the case in Japan, in Ceylon the Buddhist belief in Reincarnation leads only to fear of *killing* animals. It does not induce a labourer to abstain from working his ox or ass when almost utterly broken down, yet it would absolutely prevent a man from putting a hopelessly injured animal out of its misery. But here the doctrine of Karma comes in, and with it we must not now deal.

In China another religion besides Buddhism teaches Reincarnation. This is Taoism. From it we learn not only that men may be transformed into beasts, as in our own fairy tales, but also that souls, after the death of the body, often enter other bodies and are in them reborn into the world. The Taoist holds that rewards and punishments are confined to this world, and so such a doctrine seems to him to be necessary in the interest of justice.

Here perhaps we should mention an idea which is not uncommon among European children of tender age. The present writer, for instance, can well remember that, when a little more than three years old, he had a firm conviction that his parents would by and by grow little again and become *his* children in their turn. From observations

made to him since by very young English boys and girls he has reason to conclude that the same strange fancy exists in not a few childish minds to-day. He has heard a little boy say to his mother: 'Mamma, when you are little, I will take care of you.' Does this throw any light on the origin of the Reincarnation doctrine? Is it natural to the childhood of the race as well as (perhaps) to that of the individual? And does its reappearance in adults among ourselves betoken the approach of the 'second childhood' of the race?

Modern 'Theosophy'—that strange offspring of misunderstood Oriental mysticism and European credulity which poses as the 'Universal Wisdom'—*lucus a non lucendo*—openly teaches Reincarnation. 'The spirit or monad has to pass through all the stages of evolution—mineral, vegetable, and animal. In man, self-consciousness and moral responsibility are attained.' . . . At death

'the Reincarnating Ego passes . . . into a state of subjective consciousness called Devachan, remaining thus for a longer or shorter period according to the way in which the earth-life has been passed. When the time comes for it to take up another body the Ego again incarnates, and this goes on till all experience has been gained, and till by spiritual advancement the necessity for reincarnation ceases, the ultimate destiny of the higher spiritual principle in man being its conscious union with the Absolute, the Universal All.'

It is evident that this farrago is in large measure borrowed from the spurious Kabbalistic book *Zôhar*, to which we have already referred, though with a spice of modern scientific phraseology and a little bit of Sanskrit. We are not now concerned with Theosophy as a whole, however, so we need not dwell on it longer, except to point out in passing that, like the Naasseni or Ophites (Serpent-worshippers) of old, it deifies the original Tempter and states that 'The Serpent was the Lord God Himself.'

Our study of the modern form of the doctrine of Reincarnation somehow or other recalls to our mind a passage in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass*, because that

passage shews the process necessary to train people to accept it. The Queen has been making some 'rather tall' statements, much to Alice's astonishment. At last the climax is reached.

'I can't believe *that*!' said Alice.

'Can't you,' the Queen said in a pitying tone. 'Try again : draw a long breath, and shut your eyes.'

Alice laughed. 'There's no use trying,' she said : 'one can't believe impossible things.'

'I dare say you haven't had much practice,' said the Queen. 'When I was your age, I always did it for half an hour a day. Why, sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast.'

Some people in our own day and generation have evidently had much more practice than Alice, and indeed seem to vie with the Queen herself in her ability to believe the impossible. From what we have read regarding the Reincarnation teaching given in certain circles in England to-day, however, we feel sure that those who wish to accept it will find the Queen's advice good : 'Draw a long breath, and shut your eyes.'

If it be asked, What proof can be adduced that Reincarnation really takes place ? it must be answered that there is none, unless we accept as such the mere assertions of Pythagoras, Empedocles and a few others, who tell us that they remembered their previous lives. But the one thing which, in the opinion of most of those who in any age have accepted the doctrine, has seemed to give it some verisimilitude is, that we have all at times had a strange feeling as if the scene in which we were at the moment taking part had occurred exactly in the same way on some previous occasion. This curious sensation is referred to by Plato and by many ancient and modern writers. A recent novel says of one of its characters :

'It seemed to her that all that was happening now had happened before. . . . She could not but think that she had known Sir Owen long ago, but how and where she could not tell.'

It is extremely probable that this feeling is really due to subconscious cerebration, through which we have stored up in our subconsciousness dim pictures of scenes which our memory has not fully noted. The hypothesis of a previous existence cannot therefore be required to explain the matter.

Children frequently remind us of our grandparents' little peculiarities of look and manner. But *as this is so during our grandparents' lives*, it is not necessary to conclude, if they happen to be dead, that they have become reincarnated in their own descendants.

To the ancients several matters tended to commend the doctrine of Metempsychosis. In the first place, it seemed to confirm the belief in a future life which they had inherited and to which they tried to cling. Yet it was rapidly fading away. Moschus' well-known lines still ring sadly in our ears, though now 'life and incorruption' have been brought to light in the Gospel.¹ The following attempt to translate them may be pardoned.

'Alas, alas ! the mallows in the garden when they fade,
Or parsley green and anise, blooming crisply in the glade,
Though withered now, yet spring again and live another year :
But we, the great, the mighty, e'en the wisest, soon as here
We once have died, unhearing lie within the hollow ground,
Sleeping a sleep unending, unawaking, drear, profound.'

Even Egyptian literature contains similar tones of despair. Secondly, this doctrine removed the difficulty which many felt in thinking of the disembodied soul as destitute of a material vehicle. For some people it was easier to conceive of the soul as inhabiting even the body of an animal than as incorporeal. Thirdly, it appeared to give an answer to the question asked in all ages and never fully answered, 'What is the cause of the existence of so much apparently undeserved suffering in this world ?

Revelation, with its proofs of a future life and its mention of a spiritual body and of the Resurrection, renders it

¹ Αἶ, αἶ, ταὶ μαλάχαι, etc. (Idyll iii. 99-105).

unnecessary for us to credit Reincarnation for either of the first two reasons. A little consideration of the third shews that to attribute the sufferings of a crippled child, for instance, to his sins in a previous life would not diminish but add to the amount of misery in the world. It would deprive the poor little fellow of the one great comfort which he can now count upon, the compassionate kindness of his fellow creatures. This effect it has had in India and other Eastern countries ever since people began to believe in Metempsychosis. That *all* suffering without exception is the result of sin, committed for the most part in a previous life, had ultimately to be denied in the *Milinda-panho* of the Buddhists, though this tenet is even now dominant among them, and gives rise to an immense amount of cruelty throughout all lands where people still believe in transmigration.

If this dogma has a charm at all it lies in its apparent simplicity. It represents all kinds of life as in essence one, though for a time lived under very different conditions, as plant, animal, man. But if we accept this as true, we must not stop here. We are logically bound to become Pantheists and hold that all life is the Deity itself in various manifestations. This leads to the conclusion that this Impersonal Deity is the author of all actions, good and bad alike. Thus all morality, all difference between virtue and vice, good and evil, vanishes. We cannot say that, while we may be born again as human beings, we refuse to reappear as animals. Attempts have been made to assert the truth of the doctrine in this restricted form, but they failed in the past in Rome, in Greece, in India, and are therefore bound to be seen to be untenable now. At any rate the theory of Reincarnation involves eternal separation from all whom we love at death. For, if our child dies and becomes some one else's child, even if it does not re-enter the world as a lower animal, it is lost to us for ever and can never again be recognized should we meet it. Hence the cry of the Hindu father whose son died, 'To all the ages of eternity I shall never see my little boy again.'

It is instructive to observe how, in the ancient world,

belief in Transmigration gradually faded away before the advance of Christianity, though the idea was not without effect upon even such a man as Origen. Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists generally accepted Plato's views on the subject; but Porphyry was compelled by the influence of the Christianity, which as a whole he rejected, to modify very materially his teacher Plotinus' conclusions. Porphyry therefore refused to believe that human souls could ever enter into the bodies of the brute creation. He fancied that, being here purified during successive lives, they might at length go 'to the Father's presence,'—an idea very far in advance of anything taught by Plato or Pythagoras. St. Augustine in his works ably refuted both the earlier and this modified form of Metempsychosis. Doubtless it was due not least to his cogent arguments that this ancient superstition was driven from the Western world.

'Porphyry is, forsooth, ashamed to believe,' he writes, 'that men become animals, lest perchance a mother, reincarnated in a mule, should be ridden by her son. Yet he is not ashamed to believe that men are reincarnated in human form, in which case a mother, reincarnated in a girl, might wed her own son.'

Loathsome as this idea is, a little thought will make it clear that even worse things must naturally result, were Reincarnation really in accordance with the usual order of things. Perhaps this is one reason why this doctrine has *always* produced, or tended to produce, immorality. We have already seen that Plato uses certain language in connexion with this idea which we have not ventured to translate into English. Carpocrates' system overthrew all morality. Buddha tells us that to commit an unnatural offence is not so bad as for one of the members of his Order to return to family life. And that the taint of immorality still attaches itself to Reincarnation fancies is evident from recent popular novels written to propagate these views. The work from which an extract has already been given is an instance of this. The book tells us how unbelief, fostered by the Reincarnation theory, led the heroine, a girl of much musical taste, to immoral conduct. Another

such novel (by a woman, alas !) has as its hero a man who, having been killed at Trafalgar is now reincarnated with the same name in the person (apparently) of one of his descendants. He recognizes the very furniture of a room which in his previous life he had known well. He falls in love with the ghost, gradually becoming materialized, of a girl to whom in that life he had been engaged. He has now lived in a rather sensual manner, and, though married, is anxious to sin with this more or less material ghost. She says to him, ' We shall be one at last, being one with Almighty and Eternal God.' He does not repent, does not in any way become a changed character, yet,

' He had found his soul. The matter was simple to the point of laughter, when once apprehended. In bidding him farewell his sweet companion had promised him that she and he would at last be made one, being one with Almighty God. He had heard that as he might mere rhetoric, idle though pretty words, placing it in some unimaginable future, his mind still in bondage to human conception of time and space. Now he beheld this consummation as already accomplished, immediately present, constant, here, now, permanent. All that it needed was just an attitude and habit of mind, and then work.'

This is the impure and blasphemous nonsense offered us in the twentieth century as food for our spirits and our intellects, as a substitute for a Christian's ' sure and certain hope.'

Most men find *one* life, in a world where ' man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward,' quite enough to bear. Not a few find it more than enough. Yet nowadays people strive to persuade us that, instead of it being true, as Horace says, that

‘Omnis *una* manet nox,
Et calcanda semel via leti.’

many deaths lie before us, which yet will not really enable us even in the grave to escape from the misery of rebirth and consequent renewal of our earthly sorrows. Even in the grave then there is left no place where ' the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.' This

prospect is offered us as cheering, as something to look forward to!

If we could recollect our previous lives and correct our errors in a new existence on earth, there would be some imaginable reason for the supposed fact of Reincarnation. But experience teaches us that we have no such recollection, and thus explodes the faint trace of plausibility which the doctrine might *a priori* claim. Those who hold it must, if they are consistent, believe with Pythagoras and the Hindus, Jainas and Buddhists, that to slay an animal even for food is a terrible crime, and that no real distinction exists between eating animal food and cannibalism. Surely there are sins enough already for us to contend with, and it is not necessary to invent another.

A theory so evil in its effects and so utterly destitute of proof can hardly, in the Europe of the twentieth century, have a fate different from what befell it in the past. As has been said, it may become a fashionable craze among the idle and unthinking, but it is bound, even should it have some degree of success for a time, soon to be once more relegated by the thoughtful to the vast limbo of exploded superstitions. In a world of sin and sorrow it has no message of pardon, of comfort, of peace. Without raising the animal it degrades the human and the Divine. It adds one more to man's many miseries, and, in place of an eternity of loving happy service in the presence of our Heavenly Father, holds out to us the dismal prospect of living many more sinful and wretched lives on earth. Finally comes absorption or extinction in the unconscious All. Of believers in Reincarnation in our own day we may well say what Gregory Nazianzen said of those in his, that they 'cruelly bind mankind on Ixion's ever revolving wheel.'

W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL.

ART. V.—POETRY AND FREEDOM.

1. *Hours in a Library*. Volume II. 'Wordsworth's Ethics.' By LESLIE STEPHEN. (London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1892.)
2. *Shakespearean Tragedy*. By A. C. BRADLEY. Second Edition. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1905.)
3. *Poets of our own Day*. Edited by N. G. ROYDE-SMITH. (London: Methuen and Co. 1908.)

I

OF all the fallacies into which speculation so easily falls in reflexion on the course of history, the most delusive, if only by reason of its subtlety and colouring of truth, lies in that often-repeated thesis that nations live and die like individuals. For their life and death are of another kind. If there be any meaning in the conception of a nation as a creature with life, mind, and will, it must signify that element in the people which is imperishable as the humanity of which it forms part, and has an equal duration. The idea of the nation, the unique contribution which it alone can make to the progress of man, having once expressed itself is as lasting as the human race, and when no longer upheld by the people in whom it had its birth, it will find its embodiment in another race or pass into the world of values which nations are slowly building up, one after another performing its part. The people that has abandoned its idea, having lost its truth, is indeed dead, however overweening it may be in material prosperity; but its life is elsewhere.

If this change should come to pass in England there would be few dissentients from the judgement as to the idea of most permanent value worked out by her. Universal would be the chorus ascribing to her the praise of freedom. For this cause throughout history her best have suffered in political, in religious, in intellectual struggle. In this faith

she has been a light to other nations, and in this discipline has educated the weak and her own children and foster-children, until they have made her tremble, not in fear but in internal conflict of conscience as they have raised her own flag against her. But as the English doctrine of freedom has spread wider and wider over the world, there have appeared many subtle possibilities of divergence in the methods of its realization, suggesting the question whether this liberty should not be regarded merely as a negative condition, preliminary indeed to all true growth, but one to which each nation must add its quota of value. The people from whom the characteristically modern conception of freedom sprang have had to endure an evolution of it amongst themselves into strange and alien forms, and are now watching it changing in those very hands in which it was placed as the safest guardians of its integrity. The liberty of the individual which has inspired and exalted with idealism the whole course of English history seems sometimes to be lightly valued by the mass of workers to whom this national jewel was confided.

It may seem necessary then, if not to revise the accepted tradition of the contribution of England to progress, her most obvious service to the other nations, at least to reconsider what has been the secret of its power for herself. It may appear that the passion for freedom has sprung from some need deeper still, and that the vital question for her spiritual future is what kind of freedom and to what end.

That a study of English poetry suggests one answer to this question is the conviction of the present writer, and the purpose of this article is to point out a few of the considerations on which it is based. The passion for freedom must shew itself first in the struggle against external restraints; but its true significance—the reason of its irresistible force—is more fundamental, and only when animated by this inner power does freedom bring salvation to its worshippers. Prior in history, prior in action does the rude fight for liberty appear, for action can only slowly become infused with the more unique qualities of the race which has first

to earn its right to bare existence. But from an early period any people containing the seeds of greatness in itself has another channel in which the expression of its spirit can be more direct than in action. The high value which English poetic literature has had for the moral life of the people has been mainly due to its presentation of that which was unique in their individuality, and it is the sense of the supreme worth of individuality which is the power behind the national devotion to liberty.

It is above all, then, in the sphere of poetry that the nature of this individual quality has been intimately expressed. Into poetry rather than into philosophy the deeper elements of the English spirit have entered. In this vehicle have been embodied those profound and creative thoughts about the relation of man to the universe and the meaning of human life, which really determine the attitude of the race or its truest representatives at supreme moments. This is the attitude which many who forget it later have taken up at the high-water mark of youthful idealism, that moment which never recurs exactly as experienced, yet leaves an ineffaceable impression on the conception of the ideal held consciously or unconsciously by mature men in sober life.

Further to define this characteristic of the racial genius, which is most its own because most unique, it may be said that in common with English philosophy and also with the general spirit of English activities, it is founded on the strength of the practical interest. Applied in philosophy this interest leads to the method of experience or empiricism. Revealed in poetry the same spirit rises to greater heights. The concentration of the poetic imagination on the problems suggested by the practical life of man results in an insight more penetrating in proportion to the intensity of the practical outlook and interest. For in the vision of poetry, this interest touched by mystery becomes infinite. Poetic wonder arises, and the ordinary fact of active experience takes its place in the world-order where it is eternally significant. Thus, for example, does death, the most common of facts, at once most practical in its bearing on things

human, and the source of the vastest speculations, receive its true poetic value in the minds of the most practical people, and English literature is richest in elegies and poems of mourning. And since it is out of the primal facts of existence of which the practical nature is most vividly, though without full self-consciousness, aware that the aspect of mystery arises, this aspect is a leading mark of English ethical poetry. Excluded on the whole from the most characteristic products of philosophy, or at least only allowed a minor place in them, this spirit has found in poetry its means of expansion. The same fundamental thought which in philosophic form develops into the systems of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, has flowed through English poetry into ideas that are best expressed by Wordsworth, Shelley, and perhaps we may add, Tennyson. The conception of the soul in nature which pervades so much English poetry does not come to it from philosophy, though, once in being, it has drawn to itself such elements of German idealism as were in harmony with it. It was present from the beginning, we can trace it from its first emergence in Anglo-Saxon literature, and it seems to answer to some profound and intimate if subconscious quality in the intuition of the race. It may be observed that it is because the spiritual view of nature is so naturally appealing to the English mind that Wordsworth's doctrine of man's relation to nature has been found satisfying and consoling to such a high degree.

Professor William Wallace once pointed out the analogy between Wordsworth's conception and Spinoza's thought of the individual *sub specie aeternitatis*. Here again it appears that the profounder thoughts of our race have passed into poetry rather than into philosophy. The genius of England could not produce a Spinoza nor reach the intellectual pinnacle at which the most daring flights of imagination could be translated into a coldly reasoned system. But through the quiet poetry of Wordsworth a like intoxicating dream has, during the last century, been stealing gently into the innermost thoughts of the people, where, moreover, it finds itself at home.

The emotion of mystery which appears in nature-poetry as consciousness of the universal soul, shews itself in the poetry of which the subject is life, or a drama of personal beings, in the suggestion and revelation of infinity, infinite depths of inner experience, a kind of indefinite majesty in the simple facts of human destiny. The strongest expression of this is given through Shakespeare's greatest characters—Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear.¹ Milton's power to evoke this emotion is the more extraordinary, because it is exercised through the perfection of classical form. In language in which every word is given its full and definite meaning, the infinite, the illimitable, chaos are presented to our imaginations. When embodying conceptions too tremendous for human thought, as in the description of death in *Paradise Lost*, the poet seeks no aid from barbaric phraseology, makes no effort to excite amazement by unusual contortions of language.

The laws of the mystical imagination are unknown—the reasons why at any particular historical epoch it rises to a pitch of exaltation, or seems to flicker and die down. In an age full of the passion of national triumph, and the glory of life—'the mere living,' the greatest genius able to give expression to the whole gamut of national emotion, may also, like Shakespeare, have most power to suggest the emptiness, the nothingness of the pageant of life in face of its unsolved riddles. From an age when the soul of the nation has been wrung by dissension, and all the common sources of joy and consolation endangered, Milton perhaps could draw more strength to confront the vast mystery in the midst of which this scene of little and brief tumults is set. An era, however, such as the nineteenth century, characterized on the whole by material progress, by the spread of utilitarian philosophy, and a realistic political economy, seems hardly less to have favoured the highest efforts of poetic thought capable of suggesting the infinite in nature and life. Yet Milton's objective method of arousing wonder and amazement seems not to have been at the command of the nineteenth-century

¹ Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*. Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth.

poets. In J. H. Newman's attempt to bring before the imagination an unknown stage of existence,¹ the objective may be seen fading away into a subjective experience. And from Shelley through Wordsworth to Tennyson the treatment of man's communion with nature becomes more and more a drama of the soul. In Tennyson's *In Memoriam* we meet a nature bewitched with human associations almost as if she could utter from her own centre Wordsworth's 'still sad music of humanity,' and as though she suffered herself for her own inevitable indifference to human ends, as in the terrible cry:

‘I care for nothing. All shall go.’

In the most modern English verse, wherever there is a quality of pure poetry, this power to touch the sense of the mysterious and the infinite remains. Whatever be the cause of the apparent eclipse of poetic genius, in our own day the form in which it lingers longest is the lyric, that form in which the most elusive moments of experience are best seized and preserved. The poetic imagination, forced back on itself, revolves round the solitary thinker's conception of his destiny. The spirit animating some of the finest of these poems is an intense and stubborn individualism whose utterance, brilliant perhaps in the lyric, seems incapable of passing beyond this narrow outlet. Even 'the rage to suffer for mankind,' when it possesses the modern minor poet, seems hardly to have the power to become objective in an epic or drama of life, but eats upon itself as in Mr. A. E. Housman's regret for the apathy of senselessness before the sod became animated into the living man.²

‘Men loved unkindness then, but lightless in the quarry
I slept and saw not ; tears fell down I did not mourn ;
Sweat ran and blood sprang out, and I was never sorry—
Then it was well with me, in days ere I was born.

¹ *Dream of Gerontius.*

² *The Shropshire Lad.*

' Ay look: high heaven and earth ail from the prime foundation,

All things to rive the heart are here, and all are vain—
Horror and scorn, and hate and fear, and indignation—
Oh why did I awake? When shall I sleep again? '

II

It is in the lyric that the inner side of the passion for freedom is most simply shewn, by means of the poetic logic that suffers no curb to pure emotion and insists on expression of any unique perfection. Here then the secret of individualism is revealed, that of which every struggle for liberty seems at times to be the symbol. The greatest lyrics have a universal element in their individuality. The transfiguration of things through lyric passion must have a wider truth than that which is only there for the impassioned being at his moment of exaltation. For the philosophic idealist the significance of the fact that spiritual experiences are reflected in Nature is that this is a part of the creativeness of the mind constituting nature. But how shall that action of the imagination which finds, in every perceived thing, traces of the manifestation of all-pervading intelligence or the march towards a final end, be reconciled with the individual vision of nature sympathetic with grief or gladness, a creature writhing in the shadow of human pain or glowing in the light of human joy? Have we here a subjective truth only, a broken light? Or is it not rather true that the majestic romance of idealism is so deeply indebted to human emotion that it may be said without exaggeration to have had its birth and still to be vitally sustained from philosophy to philosophy by the indignant demand of man for the sympathy of nature?

' O what a weight is in these shades! Ye leaves
That murmur once so dear, when will it cease?
Yon sound my heart of rest bereaves,
It robs my heart of peace.'

So Barbara's mourner complains in Wordsworth. For he too must have known the experience of Meredith's 'Love in the Valley'—

' Every woodland tree is flushing like the dogwood,
 Flashing like the white beam, swaying like the reed—
 Flushing like the dogwood crimson in October,
 Streaming like the flag-reed South-west blown—
 Flashing as in gusts the sudden-lighted white beam—
 All seem to know what is for heaven alone.'

Somehow reality must contain nothing less, nothing fainter or weaker than all the colour which human passion has put into its different parts truly, and not transmuted as in the philosopher's Absolute. The sting and agony must never be 'as if they had not been.' In this way poetry gives full value to the most intense things of life too easily shrinking and fading under the treatment of philosophy.

Now English literature is rich in lyrics, and the profoundly individual note which characterizes them rings as struck on the metal which gives the national feeling for liberty its purest quality. Here we may call in the testimony of John Stuart Mill, the poetic elevation of whose worship of liberty is paralleled by an almost mystical devotion to the idea of the poet as the cultivator of spiritual individuality and freedom. Martineau pointed out the analogy between the excessive appreciation of individuality in Mill's 'Essay on Liberty,' and his conception of poetry as 'not heard but overheard,' and described Mill's poet as all 'loneliness and intensity,' a kind of 'spiritual firework going off of itself in perpetual night.'¹

There seems to be something of the life-blood of genius in this dire necessity of giving utterance to the most solitary spiritual experiences, of making room for them, so to speak, to express their value in a world to which they have no obvious reference. Far as this indifferent movement of genius on its own pathway may seem from the mundane fight for liberty, it may yet be shewn that the need to make

¹ Martineau, *Essays, Reviews and Addresses*. Vol. iii, *Theological : Philosophical*. 'John Stuart Mill's Philosophy.'

manifest the peculiar uniqueness of the buried life which poetry essentially affirms, has a true and marked relation to the need for the expression of individuality, the real driving-force of the English pursuit of liberty.

A history of the idea of freedom in English literature would illustrate this. It would appear in such a survey that material freedom as presented by its greatest defenders has its highest value through serving as a condition of the freedom of the mind, though by no means indispensable to this reality of all freedom. Milton, supreme example of the transmutation of the spirit of action into the spirit of poetry which, as is here maintained, is characteristic of English genius, is perhaps greater than Mill in his writings on liberty, because more conversant with action, more lofty in imagination, he is more finely conscious of the inner quality—the secret of the free spirit. The liberty of each to be himself is the meeting-point of the practical and the poetic estimation of individuality. And we may trace a further analogy in the developments of the passion in the two spheres. For as the enthusiasm for liberty in the political sphere becomes monstrous and tyrannical, if devoid of social feeling, in virtue of which the individual labours for his people, the one stands for many, so does the solitude of the individual soul and its utterance reach a point at which it would be intolerable without passing into mysticism through which the barriers shutting it off from the world are broken down. In Emily Brontë's 'Last Lines' the consecrating idea is hardly less the setting of the lonely soul in the radiance of liberty than the eternity of the individual in the omnipresence of spirit :

‘No coward soul is mine
No trembler in the world’s storm-troubled sphere
I see Heaven’s glory shine
And Faith shines equal arming me from fear.

Though earth and man were gone
And suns and universes ceased to be
And Thou wert left alone
Every existence would exist in Thee.’

As said above, the form chiefly preferred by poetic instinct in recent years is a lyric intensely individual in its note. Within this narrow compass it gives signs of much force, but it has little strength to pass beyond. It may be asked whether this is a natural development determined by an inner necessity in the spirit of poetic genius, or whether this spirit is artificially restrained and constrained thus to express itself by something unfavourable in the conditions of modern life. With the mystical lyric in which spiritual isolation finally breaks down may be contrasted those modern songs in which the poet stands aloof from all possibility of union with the spirit of his age. This attitude is associated with a conception of the human being as always alone in the universe and protesting against his doom. The keynote, for instance, of Mr. A. E. Housman's *Shropshire Lad* is a solitude beginning with birth and never softened in life or death.

This kind of poetry does not lack the emancipating force of all true poetry in so far as it still implies that free and fresh valuation of things which belongs to the unfettered imagination. There may be epochs in which the first trumpet-call needed to arouse man's spirit is the cry that all is vanity. But what kind of epochs are these? Is it fanciful to detect in this over-emphasis of the irreconcilable element in human individuality, for ever strange and exiled under the circumstances of life, a counterpart to the undervaluation of individual liberty in the social and political sphere, not infrequently met with in the present day? There is a kindred disillusionment in both. Civilization grows old, yet it does not grow less difficult for the majority to realize that freedom of the mind without which other kinds of freedom are not of great avail to man, and of which they are at best imperfect shadows. The ideal taking refuge in poetry where it has always been at home is expressed there with an excess due to the consciousness of defeat in the actual world. The commonest conditions of freedom on the other hand lose their glamour as they no longer appear in the guise of gate-openers to the desired haven. Why should not men be coerced into

voting for those from whose opinions they dissent, and drilled to repress their individual divergences from the mandate of a party organization? To leave them free will not obviously hasten the redemption of the great majority into a state in which they can consciously and with unimpeded energy exercise that freedom of thought, of imagination, of soul, that liberty to be their own eternally unique selves, which is the human birthright. Is there not, behind the dubious logic of much modern political argument, some such fragment as this from the deeper logic of the spirit? If indeed the thought is merely and frankly uttered as contempt for old-fashioned ideas of liberty with their attendant individualism, some spark of its explosiveness may still proceed from the fire which inspires the retreat of the poetic genius upon itself in the present day.

III

The great subject of the poetry that treats of life in action, whatever form it takes, is the working of will or individual wills in co-operation or conflict with other forces. Human will is the most real of the facts we meet with in experience, the true source of our knowledge of force or power. Spiritual forces can for us be nothing else but energies of will and thought. The world of man may most truly be regarded as a theatre of wills, and the reality of nature is ultimately borrowed from that spiritual life of which we know the inner side. Now in life and action the reality expressed is always an ideal reality. The most vital part of what happens is imperceptible. The poet's vision therefore is nearest the truth because through its intensity it reaches the deepest aspect.

No attempt can here be made fully to illustrate this point of view from English narrative and dramatic literature, but some indication may be given of the light that would be thrown by such a survey on the manifestation of the spirit of liberty. It may be observed, that the poetry of life can be philosophically conceived as of two kinds, of which

examples may be found both in epic and dramatic forms. There is the poetry of appearance, and the poetry of reality. The appearances of things only may be presented, all thoughts of the deeper meaning withdrawn. Such is the impression created by Jacques' speech on the 'Seven Ages of Man' in *As you like it*. This method is seen at its perfection in the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Here the unseen element of the subject, or the interpretation of what appears in so far as it is suggested, is never far below the surface, and there is hardly any suggestion of ultimate grounds. We turn over a few pages of life without being disturbed by thoughts of the eternities and the infinities. The poet's art makes the effect harmonious. The blaze of his imagination is not turned on other possible aspects of the scene,—why life should call for pilgrimages for instance. At the opposite extreme are works in which the actions of personal beings are so presented that the central and all-dominating facts are will and mind, as in some Greek dramas, *Paradise Lost*, Shakespeare's tragedies.¹ The ultimate difference between the two methods lies in the spirit of the poet, not in the subject. The final cause why in the one case we are spectators of a pleasing panorama, in the other of the stir and conflict of tremendous forces, is a difference in the spiritual interest and vision of life as a whole.

Now, if we ask what is the object of greatest interest and beauty to the greatest poets in the sphere of life, the answer seems to be—

(a) The human will in all its keenness, over against the vast powers it confronts.

(b) The infinity of the demands of human nature and the apparent slightness of the response they receive at the hands of Life.

The great epic or tragic poet chooses naturally a subject which he can use for the revelation of these contrasts. He suggests also some reconciliation between the will and other powers, some means of satisfying the true needs of

human nature so that the extravagance of its demands is diminished. This is an artistic necessity, but the reconciliation will, on account of the theme, be such as to deepen the moral significance of the work. To take an example from a narrative poem. In the *Life and Death of Jason* Morris' attitude is certainly not that of the philosopher or moralist. The chief charm is in the harmonious expression of the motive of pathos, so employed as to make pathos seem the very rhythm of life. There is the rhythm of regret for the short-lived glory of life and for the ideal of peace which the restless energy of man destroys in the attempt to reach it, and of mystery, in the problem of the will and over-ruling fate. Destiny, as Maeterlinck says,¹ is the supremely tragic motive: 'introduce it into a drama, and it straightway does three-fourths of the work.' But in the narrative medium of Morris the more terrific aspect of destiny is not brought so much into the foreground as to make the lighter touches of pathos appear trivial or irrelevant. There must be in any artistic work a way of reconciliation, and in Morris the means of bridging over the gulf between the measureless capacity of the human spirit and the shortness of life is sought in the filling up of life with great deeds. This, the Homeric answer, is at least one part of almost every answer to the problem in the treatment of life in literature of the grand style, though the contents of the strenuous life and the ideal of activity vary with the moral and religious ideals of the age.

And the thought of what it is that makes human deeds significant, and lifts the series of changes they bring about in the course of the world out of the category of changes caused by other forces, the elemental forces of earth, the uniform sequences of nature and natural life, brings us again to the thesis of the present article. The spirit and true character of freedom have their clearest expression in literature and especially in English literature. In the spectacle of life our judgement is often deceived by the obvious rule of ends to which all action seems to be directed

¹ *The Buried Temple.*

as in a network of system. In great literature the scales are removed from our eyes and we see the spiritual energy, which is the reality, working itself out through action, and securing or missing by the way those ends which the calculating reason would set before it. And we do not estimate its value or power by its success in reaching the goal prescribed by practical teleology. It is of course in the dramas of Shakespeare that the inner nature of this spirit of art is more exactly shewn, and in such a way that freedom of the will is, so to speak, artistically proved. Shakespeare employs with the most convincing power what has been described above as the method of reality. The mirror is so held up to life that whilst we seem to be watching the whole of life with nothing left out (method of realism), the unseen forces are before us as they never are in ordinary experience, except at supreme moments. This is the one and all-sufficient transformation of things introduced by the great poet. At the moment when we seem to be witnessing the movement of life itself, the very phenomena of life grow dim for our minds, leaving us alone in the presence of infinite powers which are revealed merely by the way in which Shakespeare has presented the scene. As already implied the ethical value of literature is in its power of relieving us from the sense of moral confusion which arises when the main moral problems dawn—the problem of evil, of the will and its relation to other powers, the problem of waste. When treated by great literature these problems become artistic and this is a first stage in their solution. Example might be taken from the way in which Shakespeare at once heightens and relieves our sense of the waste experienced in life, the spendthrift throwing away of treasures of affection, imagination, heroism. The consciousness, more or less obscure, which we have of this in common life is at first rendered more definite and vivid by Shakespeare. He raises emotions and thoughts to a higher power. And yet the speeches and sayings of his persons do not seem incredible, but conformable to their characters and situation. What has happened to this language that it has become worthy of being taken down

in writing of living fire? The secret may be put in the following way. These persons are actually what ordinary men and women are potentially; there are active in them the powers dormant in the majority. Shakespeare's language, as we may say, symbolizes real states of mind ordinarily unexpressed. As an immediate result the sense of waste is heightened. We listen to his persons—Hotspur, the dashing foolhardy man of action, uttering truths profounder than philosophy, at his dying moment; Henry VI, while the battle of which he is incapable is raging, expressing in his meditations more accurately than the wisest thinker the equal littleness and greatness of every occupation of man; and many others less distinguished. They appear to be too great for their parts in life, whether that of king or watchman. Something infinite is suggested in human personality, a spirit too lofty for the conditions against which it breaks. A sense of the greatness of the human spirit is thus induced, which seems to inform us of its freedom. It may be shewn that this testimony in literature has a correspondence with the philosophic proof of freedom of the will founded on self-consciousness. From our point of view it multiplies this proof a hundredfold. For the proof is taken out of the narrow intensity of the individual experience and conviction into the sphere of a wider human consciousness. The poet's genius admits us to observe, almost with the directness of self-consciousness, thoughts, emotions and intuitions of human beings which in their quality proclaim freedom, and which do not get utterance in real life. No power but poetic genius could give us this knowledge for a sure possession, though at moments of deep social and sympathetic experience we may have it as a transient, because too individual, intuition.

In concluding this slight sketch of the place of the idea of freedom in English poetry, it should be observed that, as was hinted in reference to the relation of poetic to philosophic thought in England, the subject is really part of the larger question of the connexion between poetry and philosophy. In his 'Essay on Wordsworth's Ethics,'¹

¹ *Hours in a Library.*

that essay in which his peculiar excellence as a critic is perhaps exhibited at its greatest perfection—Leslie Stephen shews the closeness of the relation, whilst yet marking the line of division. 'The poet has intuitions, while the philosopher gives demonstrations,—the thought which in one mind is converted into emotion, is in the other resolved into logic, a symbolic representation of the idea is substituted for a direct expression.'

More recently, as we move further away from the age of the Victorian poets, and feel the impoverishment in the content of all values, and not only of those of art, which attends an ebb in the tide of the poetic spirit, it is in philosophy itself that we have an ampler recognition of the need of poetic genius for the expression of the profounder things of the mind. It is not merely that the demonstration or logic of the one becomes the intuition or emotion of the other, but that we have at least some hint in the intuition of much which will never find its way into the demonstration. Certainly this seems to be one outcome of M. Bergson's philosophy. And a less well-known thinker, Mr. Keary, has recently in a remarkable book¹ combined with an apparently very different philosophy a not wholly dissimilar conception of the method of philosophic interpretation, in his theory of the work of Creative Imagination, or Artistic Reason, in giving us Reality. Possessed by an ideal of devotion to Reason which recalls thinkers of the type of J. S. Mill, this writer at the same time shews Imagination to be the better part of Reason, without the exercise of which we wander far from the truth. The movement in philosophy foreshadowed by these and other thinkers will perhaps make plain a truth often more uncertainly discerned—that many of the great ideas besides freedom, which make the reality of human life and direct the march of history, may be best comprehended through their embodiment in poetry.

HILDA D. OAKELEY.

¹ *The Pursuit of Reason.*

ART. VI.—OXFORD FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

1. *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, composed in 1661-6 by Anthony Wood.* Edited by A. CLARK, M.A. Two Volumes. (Oxford: Printed for the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press. 1889-90.)
2. *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford.* By ANTONY WOOD, M.A. Now first published in English from the original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, with a Continuation to the present Time by the Editor, JOHN GUTCH, M.A., Chaplain of All Souls' College. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press: printed for the Editor. 1786.)
3. *Collectanea.* Published by the Oxford Historical Society. Vol. II. (Oxford: Printed for the Society at the Clarendon Press.)
4. *The Grey Friars in Oxford.* By A. G. LITTLE, M.A. (Oxford: Printed for the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press). 1892.)
5. *Monumenta Franciscana.* Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A. Vol. I. 'Rolls Series.' (London. 1858.)
6. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif.* Edited by W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A. 'Rolls Series.' (London. 1858.)

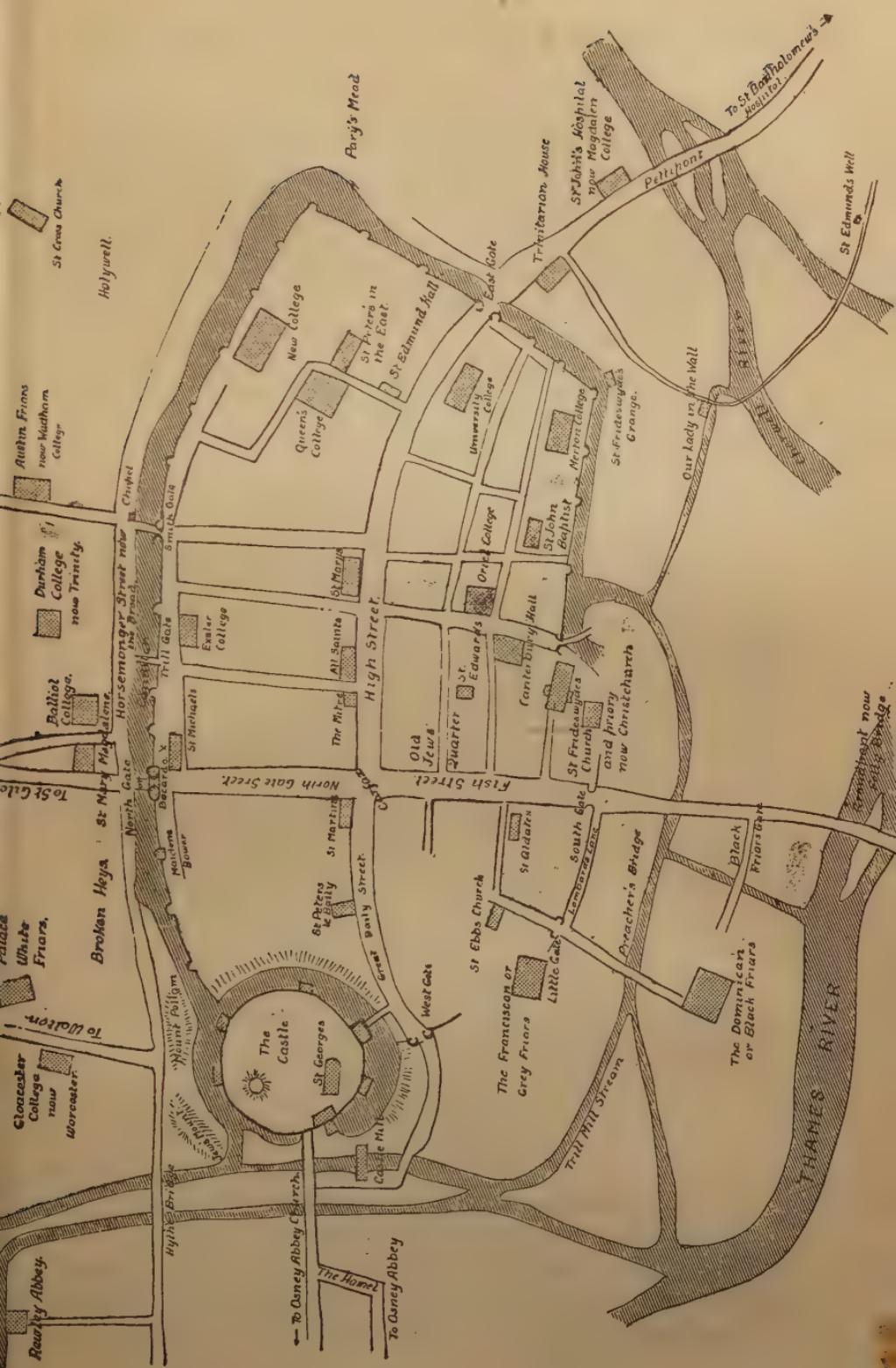
And other Works.

NOT long after the commencement of the present century I was spending a few weeks by myself in Oxford at the beginning of the Long Vacation. Some months before chance had thrown in my way *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, a very interesting book by Mr. A. G. Little, and this had induced me to study the pages of old Anthony à Wood, the scholarly and painstaking historian of the City and University of bygone years. The *Chronicles of Thomas of Eccleston* followed, describing in quaint monkish Latin the coming of the Franciscans to England, and their sayings

and doings during the earliest years of this most wonderful Order of religion. These led on to other books connected with the early history of Oxford. And so it was, that I wandered day by day through the streets and byways, round and about the old city, identifying the sites of abbeys and monasteries now dead and almost forgotten, recalling the former descriptions of many a street and way and the histories of many an ancient college, some of which in times past had borne other names and had been the homes of monkish students ; peopling the place as I went through it with the figures of those who had lived and died there, picturing to myself the scenes of busy life and academical strife of the years that had gone, and turning again in the evening to the pages in which all these are so vividly portrayed.

One morning in early July, after a glorious swim at Parson's Pleasure, I got into my punt, which I kept just below the Rollers, and drifting down the shady Cherwell stream towards the landing-place by Magdalen, moored close under the trees of Addison's Walk in the quiet grounds of the College. Soothed by the gentle stirring of the warm air, the buzz of insects and the faint sounds of the outer world which came floating across the sleepy meadows, I fell into a dozing reverie or day-dream, in which fancy took me by the hand, and made the things I had been thinking and reading about clear and real to me.

I seemed to be sitting by the side of a clear, quick-running mill stream, near to a large church with old buildings of no great architectural merit or beauty adjoining it. A few hundred yards away arose a massive grey Norman keep and by its sides a great mound of earth. Suddenly I recognized the tower and the mound, with the mill at the foot of it, and after a moment's thought I came to the conclusion that I must be standing somewhere about the site of the southern corner of what is now Paradise Square. This I remembered was where the Franciscan monastery formerly stood. Then that, I thought, must be their church, that the gate house, those the dormitories, cloisters and



refectory. As these thoughts passed through my mind I lost hold of the world of to-day and my dream took possession of me. I knew, I cannot say how, that I was a young monk of the Order of St. Francis (Brothers Minor they are properly called), that I had sat for some years under the learned Doctors in the University of Paris, and that I had come to Oxford then to continue my studies in the monastery of our Order. And at the same time I knew too that we were in the opening year of the fifteenth century and that King Henry the Fourth, of Lancaster, was King of England. So I sat by the side of the clear gliding stream, watching the long green water-weeds writhe and the fish dart about in the swift current, and above me the bright sun of a lovely July morning. A slight sound made me look round, and I saw a tall, middle-aged man approaching, in the brown habit of our Order, barefooted and bare-headed, somewhat rugged in appearance, but not without the dignity that comes from a life of contemplation and study.

‘I am Brother Eustace,’ he said with a pleasant and attractive smile. ‘The Warden has assigned me to look after you and shew you our city of Oxford and the colleges and the books of the University before you begin your regular life and work here.’ Then he asked me how I had left the Brothers in Paris and inquired after two or three by name, and whether I had had a pleasant journey, and I in my turn told him how I had fared. I had left Paris about a month ago, in the company of three other Brothers, and had taken a week to reach the Abbey of Fécamp. After we had rested there a few days, the monks had put us across the sea to Dover, as they had our Brothers when they first came to England nearly 200 years ago. Two days’ walk had brought us to the House of our Order in Canterbury. From there I had been sent on with a Brother who was going to London, and it took us three days to reach the Franciscan Monastery which adjoins the hospital of St. Bartholomew founded by Rahere, the jester at the Court of King Henry le Beauclerk. After a week there, where I was amazed at the wealth and

prosperity of the City and its inhabitants, I was met by two Brothers of the Oxford House who had been sent on to bring me here; for by the rules of our Order it is not lawful for a Brother Minor to travel alone.

‘ And now,’ said I, ‘ you must tell me something about this City and University of yours, for you know that men say that Paris and Oxford are the most celebrated places of learning in the whole world.’

‘ Well,’ said Brother Eustace, sitting by my side on a rough wooden bench shaded by a willow overhanging the mill stream, ‘ it still wants an hour to our midday meal and I cannot do better than give you a little history of the town and those who live in it. Now you must know that the City is very ancient; indeed, some say that it was founded a thousand years before the birth of our Lord by one King Mempric, and that its name was Caer-Mempric; others, again, say that a certain noble Roman named Calenus built it; and there are yet those who give the credit of founding it to Vortiger some 400 years later. And they say that at one time it was called Bellositum from the beauty of its situation, and at another Rhedychen, which means the same as its present name. However this may be, it is certain that the town was a walled city before William of Normandy conquered the Saxons and slew King Harold, for we read that at this time some of the houses were without the walls and that others within the walls were subject, as they still are, to the special burden of maintaining the walls in repair. But long before this the legend of St. Frideswyde, which I will tell you later on, makes it clear that the town had walls round it, for when King Algar sought to enter the City and seize the holy virgin, who, as the bride of the Church, refused his proffer of an earthly alliance, he found himself shut out by ramparts and closed gates. The walls still exist, though they have become somewhat ruinous in places, and have been thrown down where the Abbey of St. Frideswyde abuts on the water meadows to the south of the city. As to the University, it too claims an origin in the dimmest past; for according to some historians it was founded by a British King about seventy years after our Lord’s birth, and others say that the Venerable Bede was a pupil here, and yet again there are those who say that the great King Alfred founded it. What we do know for certain is, that the town has been a place of learning for some hundreds

of years ; and that early in the reign of King Henry le Beauclerk, whose favourite Rahere you spoke of as the founder of Bartholomew's Hospital in London, Theobald of Étampes had a class here of 60 to 100 scholars, and that a little later men of all degrees crowded to listen to the law lectures of the learned Vacarius, the theological discourses of Cardinal Pullen, and the teaching of Natural Science by Robert of Cricklade. As a corporate body, such as the Universities of Paris and Bologna, Oxford University can claim to have existed for more than 200 years. Of the colleges, or bodies of lay students, governed by statutes, as distinct from the halls or lodging-places for students, and from the houses of the religious whose members pursue their studies at the University, none are older than about one hundred and fifty years, and most of them are of much later date. And even now there are only seven of these colleges, while the halls number about two hundred or perhaps more, and there are about a dozen different religious houses which receive students who have entered religion or purpose to do so. Altogether I should think that the masters and students of the University number about five thousand. And now,' said he, ' I propose that this afternoon and to-morrow we should go all round and about the City and its suburbs, and as we go I will tell you shortly what I know about the different places we shall see, so that you may be able to become better acquainted with them during your sojourn here.'

While we were still talking, and he was answering the eager questions I put to him on different matters he had touched upon, the great bell of the Monastery rang out to summon us to our midday meal. This, in accordance with the rule of the Order, was eaten in silence, save for the voice of the Brother who read a pious history of the sayings and doings of Brother Giles of our religion, one of the chosen companions of the Blessed Francis. Dinner ended, however, the conversation became free and merry, and the Warden, a kind and gentle old man, told me with great zest how that Grostête, the great Bishop of Lincoln, who, though not himself a Brother Minor, was the first reader to the Oxford House, had said that three things were necessary to health—to eat, to sleep, and to be merry—and how the Bishop had made a certain melancholy Brother drink a cup of

good wine by way of penance and for the good of his soul, and had told him that if he did the like a little oftener his conscience would be in better condition; and how the saintly man gave it as his solemn opinion that a little pepper in a salad was more appetizing than ginger. He also said that Brother William of Nottingham in the early days of the Order had said 'Laugh and grow fat! Why when I was at Rome at one time we had nothing to eat but chestnuts, and I grew so fat that I positively blushed.' I ventured to remind him that the Blessed Francis when he was grievously afflicted in the body and was on the point of death was so joyful in spirit that he would burst continuously into song, to the scandal of some of the weaker Brothers who thought such joy misbecoming a dying saint. After a few more words the Warden dismissed me, and I rejoined my friend, Brother Eustace.

'The days are long,' said he, 'and if you wish we might spend some hours before sunset in visiting the suburbs of the City; there is too much to see in one day.'

'Very willingly,' I replied. So about the third hour, as the sun was well on his homeward journey, we passed under the great gate of the Monastery, over the porch of which was marked in colour a plain crucifix. Turning sharply on our left and continuing to the left by the corner of the parish Church of St. Ebbe's, we followed the walls of the enclosure of the Brothers Minor, and came to the West Gate of the City. We passed through and found ourselves close under the keep of the Castle. Its strong square walls still shewed signs of the battering they had received when King Stephen beleaguered the Empress Matilda, and my guide pointed out to me part of the great mounds which the King had compelled the accused Jews, who at that time lived in Oxford in great numbers, to throw up against the Castle moat. Less than a furlong from the gate we came to a stone bridge over the Mill stream, which formed the west and south boundary of the Friars' gardens—and close under the great keep Brother Eustace pointed out the Castle Mill—older than the keep itself, for, as he said, it was there long before Norman William came over. A bridge across a

second stream, which he called Bookbinders' Bridge, and yet another bridge over a smaller rivulet, brought us to a stone cross from which we could see in front of us a large church (Osney Abbey Church, according to my guide), and, at right angles, a short busy street with shops and houses on either side.

'That,' said Brother Eustace, 'is called the Hamel, and is one of several streets of that name in and about the City. It is inhabited principally by craftsmen and tradespeople, who supply the wants of the Abbey of Osney and those who visit or frequent it.'

We turned down this street, which led into a long straight lane with the open meadows on either side of it, and on our right was the Abbey Church and the *Domus Dei*, or alms-house, where the good monks of Osney lodge and feed 'divers poor Clerks, and other indigent people, servile to the Abbey,' as my friend said. This lane brought us to the great gate of Osney, with an image of the Blessed Virgin over the arch and flanked by two great towers. The porter, whose duty it was to keep out women and undesirable persons, and to dispense the charity of the Abbey to the poor and the wayfarer, made us a courteous salutation as we passed into the Abbey enclosure. We had no time to linger, but Brother Eustace pointed out to me the great refectory, built about 150 years ago by Abbot John Leech; the dormitories, the oratory for the private worship of the Brothers, and a fine house for the Abbot and his guests. To the west was the shining river, and hard by was the Abbey Mill with its great water-wheel turning slowly in the misty yellow sunshine.

From the gate house we made our way by chinking rivulets, and along a shady grove, to the Abbey Church of St. Nicholas, which we had caught sight of as we turned into the Hamel, passing on our way the cottages of the servants of the Abbey and the tannery which supplied the Monks with their leather. They are of the Order of St. Austin, and, unlike us, wear shoes or sandals. The church, Brother Eustace told me, was built by that same abbot,

John Leech, who had erected the refectory. It was of magnificent proportions, with many chapels and no less than twenty-four altars. 'In the tower,' said my guide, 'are hung the bells of Osney, seven in number, the largest of which is as big as the great bell of Westminster or of Canterbury. They are the sweetest bells in the world,' said Eustace, and when I heard them a few minutes later ring out their full peal over the waving meadows, I could well believe it. From the church a beaten path led to the gates of another monastery. 'This,' my friend said, 'is Rewley Abbey belonging to the Cistercian monks, and is an offshoot from the parent house of Thame. It was founded about one hundred years ago by Edmund Earl of Cornwall for the use of Brothers studying at Oxford.'

An avenue of trees led to the church and the refectory and other buildings down by the river bank, surrounded by clear rivulets and fishponds and shady walks. A pleasant domain it seemed to me. I was told that in the early days of the monastery there had been no small dispute between my Lord of Osney and the Abbot of Rewley about the payment of tithes to the older community, but that the matter had been settled by the intervention of the bishop before it had gone too far.

We left Rewley, and made our way towards the City, passing over a bridge which, Brother Eustace said, was known as Hythe, or High Bridge, and was on the main road out of the City towards the west. On our right hand was the Castle, and between us and the moat were some great mounds cast up by the Jews by the order of King Stephen, as I had already been told. Turning to the north, and away from the Castle, we soon came to a group of buildings on our left, and a large mansion or palace on our right. In answer to my inquiry, my guide informed me that the road led to a village or manor called Walton, that the buildings on the left were known as Gloucester College, and that the large house on the right belonged to the Carmelites.

'Gloucester College,' said Brother Eustace, 'belongs to the Benedictines, who use it for a residence for the monks and novices

whom they send to study at Oxford. A large number of Abbeys and Monasteries have a right to send their Brothers here. See, there, on the right of the first quadrangle, are the arms of the Abbey of Abingdon, over them are those of St. Peter's at Gloucester. Those chambers above are at the disposal of Westminster Abbey. Reading, Tavistock, Evesham, St. Edmundsbury, Rochester, and Norwich, all send students, and so do half a dozen more monasteries. The men are under the control of a prior chosen by themselves. The place itself originally belonged to the Earl of Gloucester—hence its name—then the Knights Hospitallers had it, and after them the Carmelites took part of it. Next, it became the property of John, Lord Giffard of Bromsfield, one of the Council of Regency in or about 1297, when Edward the Third had left for Flanders. I have heard that he afterwards perished miserably on the gallows outside the City of Gloucester, at the hands of the mob, but I do not know whether this was so. Finally, about 120 years ago the place came into possession of the Benedictines of Gloucester, by whom it has been used for members of their Order from all parts.

'The large house on the other side of the river was known in bygone times as Beaumont Palace. It was built by King Henry the First, and within its walls my Lord Richard, the Crusader, first saw light. It now belongs, with much land round it, to the Carmelites or White Friars. Old chroniclers tell us that they came to England when Henry III was king, from Mount Carmel in the land of Palestine, and settled in different parts of the country; at Alnwick in the north, and at Aylesford, in Kent, and other places. A hundred and fifty years ago they came to Oxford, and made their home on ground to the south of Gloucester College, which they took of Master Nicholas Stockwell, some time Mayor of the City. There, by leave of my Lord of Lincoln, and with the permission of the Abbot of Osney, they built an oratory and there they remained for sixty years or more. Now when King Edward the Second went up to war against the Scots, he took with him one Robert Baston, a Carmelite Friar, who was accounted a minstrel of no small skill, to the intent that he might celebrate in verse the victories his lord should achieve. But it happened that the King was defeated with great slaughter near Stirling, and fled from the field with such of his nobles as were not slain by the Scots, and among them was Master Baston. As they rode, hotly pursued,

the Friar besought the King to call for aid from the Mother of God, and, the better to gain the grace of our Lady, to promise the poor Carmelites a house to receive them, if ever he came to safety. After his escape he was put in mind of his promise by Friar Baston, who himself had been taken by the Scots and released by them as a reward for verses made, somewhat unwillingly, in praise of his enemy's victory. So then, some three years after, the King gave this house to the White Friars by charter, in which it is described as "Mansum Manerii Nostri juxta portam aquilonarem Oxon extra Muros" with all its appurtenances, subject to the service of celebrating divine Offices for the health of the souls of himself and his Queen Isabella. And the same year or the year after he gave other adjoining messuages to the Friars. Thus did they who had originally lived in desert and solitary places obtain a fair territory in Oxford, extending from the road to Walton Manor on the west to the high road to Banbury and Marlborough on the east.'

With this, we retraced our steps towards the Castle till we came to a road leading by the City walls and the clear-running water of the moat, which is so fresh and bright that it is named the Canditch, or clear ditch, having on our left broken ground extending to the boundary of the Carmelite Priory. This place, rough with the digging of gravel and the shooting of rubbish, is the delight of the children of the town, who love to play and grub about in the pits and mounds, as children ever have done and ever will do.

'The ground about here is known as Broken Heys,' said Brother Eustace, 'and that third tower in the wall they call the Maidens' Chamber. A pretty bit of mockery, for there the Mayor keeps in ward the "light huswifes," who have come under his ban. Less than a hundred years ago, they used to be locked up in Bocardo, to which we shall come presently, along with the male wrongdoers, to the great scandal of all worthy people; but on urgent request, made to the King's Highness by the Chancellor of the University, the Mayor was ordered to provide a separate prison for the women.'

As he finished speaking we came to the gate called Bocardo, to which he had referred, otherwise the North Gate

of the City. It was a fine strong fortification, with portcullis, two strong towers flanking it, great folding gates, with iron bars and a massive chain, and above a battlemented wall with machicolations, or openings through which stones, boiling oil, or molten lead, might be cast down on an enemy.

‘Here,’ said good Brother Eustace, ‘they keep herded together hapless debtors, common malefactors and poor scholars convicted of some trifling fault. “Bocardo birds” the people call them, and they let down their hats with a string to receive the alms of the charitable.’

We did not enter the City, but through the gate we could see a church dedicated to St. Michael, and just outside the gate was another, which my friend told me was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and was founded long before the Norman Conquest.

‘By favour of the King,’ he said, ‘it came into the hands of Robert d’Oilly—about whose conversion from a life of sin, and the good works he did, I shall have more to tell you later on—and by him it was enriched and beautified. It now belongs to the Abbey of Osney.’

Continuing our way outside the northern wall of the City, I noticed that the roadway was very wide; and it was evident from the rails and posts along the side of it that it was used as a market for beasts. My guide said that it was known as Horsemonger Street, and was the place for the public sale of horses and ponies.

Facing the roadway on our left was a fine stone building which I learned was the College of Balliol.

‘This,’ said Brother Eustace, ‘is one of the seven colleges of Oxford, governed by statutes, and under the jurisdiction of the Chancellor of the University. The manner of its foundation was as follows: John de Balliol of Barnard’s Castle in the province of Durham, whose son was afterwards made King of Scotland by Edward the First, was once on a time very drunk, in a manner most unbecoming his station of life, and in his madness he put a grave insult on my Lord the Bishop of Durham,

The next day, having learned wisdom in the night season, and having probably been faithfully admonished by his good wife, the Lady Dervorgille, who came of the noble family of the Earl of Huntingdon and was the owner of Fodringhay Castle, he went humbly to the Bishop, begging pardon for his fault, and submitting himself to punishment and penance. Whereupon for the sake of the souls of the offender and of those who had witnessed the affront, and that all should know how grievous an offence it was to insult or withstand a successor of the Holy Apostles, the good Bishop publicly birched Sir John upon the steps of Durham Cathedral. And when the birching was over, he directed him to devote part of his great wealth to some worthy and pious use. With this purpose, Sir John de Balliol hired a house in Oxford, and placed there sixteen poor scholars for whom he appointed a revenue of 8*d.* a day each, but before he could put his charity upon a firm footing he died. His widow, the Lady Dervorgille, being persuaded thereto, as I have heard, by two of our Brothers Minor, purchased the site of the hired house and erected and endowed the buildings you see before you. And in 1282 she gave statutes to the College; providing among other things that the richer sort among the scholars should strive to live so temperately that the poorer should not be grieved by burdensome expense, that malcontents should be expelled, that Latin should be spoken in common, and that to the richer students poor scholars should be assigned to whom they should give their broken meats.

' The heretic John Wycliffe was Master here about forty years ago, and old men, who knew him then, say that he was held in universal esteem as a man of sober life and great learning, and specially was he, at that time, friendly to our Order. Now when our lord King Edward III resisted the demands of Pope Urban for payment of the arrears of tribute, promised by King John when the great interdict was removed, he turned to Wycliffe for help, as one well versed in English law and also in the civic and canon law and sacred theology. And in this dispute, Wycliffe was not without support from Brothers of our Order. But when that matter was ended, and the demand for payment of tribute was no longer insisted upon, and the controversy had died down, Wycliffe, who had strengthened the hands of our lord the King against the demands of our Father the Pope in this matter, went further and attacked the dogmas of Holy Church, and specially that of the most sacred

Eucharist, affirming that it was contrary to Holy Scripture and to reason. This made so much noise that a great Council was called in London, and he was ordered to refrain from preaching or publishing such doctrines. But this he utterly refused to do, and the Chancellor of the University thereupon convoked an assembly of Doctors in Theology and in Law, by whom his theses were confuted and condemned. Of the ten Doctors of Theology who sat upon this convocation six came from the four Orders of Friars. From this time forth there was war between the Oxford Doctor, who had lapsed into heresy, and the Friars. Before this Wycliffe had, in imitation of the Blessed Francis, instituted a new order of preachers whom he called poor priests. These he sent all over the country preaching his heresies, and he now attacked with great bitterness the members of our Order and the three other Orders of Friars, whom he held up to hatred and scorn under the name of Caim—C for the Carmelites—A for the Austin friars—I for the Jacobeans or Dominicans—and M for ourselves, the Brothers Minor. After this he turned the whole of the Scriptures into the English tongue so that they might be read and understood by the common people. Some say that in so doing he acted as those who, in the words of the Evangelist, "cast pearls before swine," but I cannot think that the Blessed Francis would have thought it wrong for all to hear in their own tongue the words of their Lord, and of the prophets, apostles and saints. Up to the day of his death in his parsonage at Lutterworth, his conflict with our Father the Pope and with Holy Church continued. God forgive him his sins and shew him his errors and purge him and bring him at last to His heavenly kingdom,' said Brother Eustace, with some emotion, 'for he was, I trow, a great and a good and a learned man when he ruled here.'

A few steps brought us to a little postern gate in the City walls, with a wooden bridge over the moat and a turnstile.

'That is the Trill or Turl gate: the turnstile is to prevent the horses and beasts getting into the City from Horsemonger Street; just beyond the gate on the left-hand side of the roadway behind the City wall is Exeter College, founded about eighty years ago by Walter Stapledon, the Bishop of Exeter, and by Peter de Skelton, clerk. My Lord Bishop had a sad ending, for he was appointed to the charge of London when King Edward the

Second fled into Wales, and falling into disfavour with the mob was beheaded by them in Cheapside.'

So spoke Eustace, and turning with his back to the gate and the walls he shewed me a house standing some little distance from the road, just opposite the gate and adjoining the enclosure of Balliol College.

' That,' said he, ' is Durham College. It is not one of the colleges of the University but is a religious house belonging to the Benedictines of Durham, and used by them or the reception of monks and novices from the mother convent, when they come up to Oxford to study; just as Gloucester College is used for the Brothers of a dozen or more monasteries of the same Order. It has been there for about a hundred years. The chapel was built about seventy years ago and is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and the glorious Confessor, St. Cuthbert. The College pays tithes to the Abbey of Osney, and, by way of oblation for the Chapel, six pence at the two feasts of St. Cuthbert in March and September.'

Still further on was another gate into the City, and a little chapel just outside the walls, and I learnt that the gate was known as Smith's Gate, and that the chapel was dedicated to our Lady. From this gate a road led up north, at right angles to Horsemonger Street, and on the left-hand side of the way was a range of buildings of grey stone, which had already begun to shew signs of age. My friend, in answer to my inquiries, told me that they belonged to the Austin Friars, or Friars Eremitae of St. Augustine.

' Not long after the foundation of the Order,' said he, ' the Friars came to London and from thence made a settlement in Oxford in a hired house. They had not been there for any length of time, when a rich knight of Oxford and of Bucks, Sir John Handlow by name, began the buildings you now see; part of the site was of his gift and part was given at the King's order by the Rector of St. Peter's Church in Oxford. Sir John was not their only benefactor, for John de Coleshall, a wealthy citizen and Mayor of Oxford, gave the community certain rents derived from premises in St. Aldate's. Another house was built of stones quarried near Oxford, and of timber

from the forest of Shotover. And after this the large church with the steeple, you see before you, a Chapter house, a fine refectory, and a library well stored with books, and also other smaller buildings, were in due course erected. Now you should know that, by reason of conveniency, the Chapter House and the refectory are used as schools by the University ; the theological students meet in the Chapter House, and the philosophers in the refectory. It was in this monastery that Wycliffe met with some of his bitterest foes, and it was here too that he found one of his warmest supporters, Peter Pateshulle, who embraced his errors, and went so far as to attack his own Order.'

Turning back to Smith's Gate we continued our walk eastwards outside the walls of the City, by the way called Holywell Street, passing two large fishponds between the road and the wall. On the left of the road were fair open meadows, which continued on our left, when the road, outside the City, took a sharp turn to the south, towards the East Gate of the City.

' The meadows to the north of the road,' said Brother Eustace, ' form part of the Manor of Holywell, which takes its name from two wells or springs, one of which is hard by yonder church of St. Cross, and the other is in the meadow adjoining. In this meadow and in that to the east of the City wall, called Parys mead, is held the wool market ; the place being convenient for the ships that came from the Thames up the Cherwell river to the back of St. John's Hospital. You may notice,' continued my friend, ' that the walls of the City in this north-east angle are much newer than the rest of the fortifications ; they were built only a few years ago by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, when he founded his college, which is just behind them. We shall see it to-morrow when we continue our walk. And now we must make the best of our way home, or we shall find our doors bolted and barred against us.'

So we passed under the East Gate of the City, and taking byways to avoid the throng of people in the main streets, we soon reached our abode, where we found Peter, the porter, awaiting our return before closing the gates for the night.

The next morning we were up betimes, and the sun was still low in the sky when we left the Friary.

‘To-day,’ said Brother Eustace, ‘we will first see the Castle and then go through the City and also see those parts outside which we had not time to visit yesterday. It is market day and I shall be able to shew you how each trade has its allotted place as well for the shops of the townspeople, which are open every day, as for the booths and stalls which are put up by the country folk who come in every Wednesday and Saturday, each to his appointed station.’

With this we turned the corner to gain the West Gate, and my friend began to tell me, in answer to my question, how the Brothers of our Order first came to Oxford.

‘You may know,’ said he, ‘that during the life of the Blessed Francis, a little band of nine Brothers, four clerks and five lay Brothers, came over to England from France. They journeyed to Canterbury, and after resting there a few days, some of their number came on to London, and were kindly received by our Brothers, the Preachers. From London, two of the clerks, Richard of Ingeworth and Richard of Devon, with certain lay Brothers, walked to Oxford, and when they arrived there they were hospitably treated by the Preachers, who entertained them for a week in their Friary, till they could settle themselves in a hired house close to our present abode. Their journey here was not without hardship, for, late in the evening on a cold, wet autumn day, they came to a grange of the Benedictine monks of Abingdon, and sought shelter and food, but the fat monks refused both and drove them away from the gate. However, a certain gentle young monk called them back, and put them secretly into a hayloft, and brought them bread and beer after the others had gone to bed. That same night he dreamt that our Lord Christ with a great company of saints sat on His judgement seat, and a certain poor man, our Blessed Francis, stood forth and cried for justice against the prior and the monks for their cruelty to his brothers, and the Lord, with severe countenance, ordered the prior and others to be hanged. Then was brought forward before Him the young monk, and our Lord asked whether he too was of the same Order as those who had already been adjudged, but he cried out that he was of the Order of the poor man who had called for justice, to whom our Lord turned asking if the monk spake true; and our Blessed Father Francis said “Yea, Lord, he is mine, from henceforth I receive him into my Order,” and straightway he embraced him so

closely that he awoke. But when he ran to tell the prior his dream he found him choking in his sleep, and so with the others of the monks, but the Brothers of our Order he found had departed in the night fearing the wrath of the prior if he should discover them.

'You may remember,' said Brother Eustace, 'the word which Brother Leo records was spoken by the Seraph to the Blessed Francis, "that no one who hated the Order should live long." After we had been in Oxford,' he continued, 'some short time, we were given the ground upon which our church and other buildings stand, and the church was built by the Brothers with their own hands, and among those who carried water and sand and stones for the work were a bishop and an abbot, as is told in our own chronicles.'

By this time we had come to the West Gate and from thence to the bridge over the mill stream. Turning to the right past the Castle mill, we crossed by another bridge over the same stream into the Castle grounds through an embattled gate. Here we found a church dedicated to St. George, and a house for students under the charge of the Abbot of Osney. Brother Eustace told me that the Warden of the house was always one of the Canons of Osney and that the students for the most part came from Wales. They had nothing allotted to them for their maintenance, but lived on doles from the Abbey of Osney and on the charity of other people. After seeing the inside of the church we went to the top of a great mound within the Castle walls, from which we could see on the one side the City with its crowded houses and church towers and steeples, and a broad street running from west to east full of booths and stalls and country carts, and thronged with people. On the other side were the quiet meadows and the peaceful channels of the river, and the stately buildings of the Abbeys of Osney and Rewley, and between the two the great tower of St. Thomas' Church from which the chimes of Osney bells came quivering through the air. To the north and north-east we could see the buildings of Gloucester College and the other places we had visited yesterday afternoon, and to the south-west the buildings of our own

Friary, and beyond them the church and houses of the Preachers or Black Friars (as the common people call them). Still further away was more shining water and the long line of roadway and bridge running south to Abingdon, over the open country. All round the moat of the Castle except on the west side were great mounds of earth, cast up, as I learnt yesterday, by the Jews in King Stephen's time; and behind the rampart on the east a lane which I was told was called by some Bullock Lane from one Bullock, who carted the refuse of the City and spread it on the mounds, and by others Bulwark Lane by reason of the great rampart. But the mounds themselves were called Mount Pellem and the Jews' Mounds.

We left the Castle by a gate to the south which led direct into the City and into the wide street or way we had seen running east and west. This I found was cut in the middle at a place called Carfax, or Carreforc, by another wide street running north and south.

'The street from the West Gate to Carfax is called,' Brother Eustace said, 'the great Bayley, and here on the left is the Church of St. Peter le Bayley.'

The middle of the road from the church onwards towards Carfax was filled with butchers' stalls and was called Butchers' Row, and on both sides of the street were the stalls of the sellers of dairy produce, where the country women sat with the baskets of new peas and beans, of butter and eggs, cheeses, and cans of milk and cream. At the north-east corner of the open space of Carfax, or place of the four roads, was an old church with a tower.

'That,' said Brother Eustace, 'is the church of St. Martin, one of the oldest in the City. It goes back to Saxon times, and it is said that Canute the King gave it to the monks of Abingdon by reason of the good will he had towards Siward the Abbot. The tower was once much higher, but sixty years ago the King ordered it to be lowered, for by reason of its great height it was used by the townspeople as a safe place from which to shoot arrows and throw stones at the students during the frequent fights between them. On the east side of the church you see a wooden bench with a penthouse roof over it. This is called

Penniless Bench, and here the chief men of the City are wont to congregate from time to time.'

Continuing our way across the open space of Carfax, where we found the stalls of those who sold bread made from fine flour, we turned the corner to the south down a broad road called Fish Street, and came first to the vendors of scullery ware, and then to the stalls of the fish-sellers. These were on the right-hand side of the way, and running parallel with the great Bailey was an alley called Winchester Row where the fishmongers' shops of the townspeople were. Further down the main street were the carts and sledges of the sellers of firewood, and turning back to Carfax on our left again opposite the stalls of the sellers of fish and of scullery ware, the stalls of the meal merchants and those who sold vegetables. The shops on either side of the way were occupied by the vintners and the hosiers on the west, and by the cutlers, armourers and bowyers on the east.

' It was these shops,' said my guide, ' that were attacked about one hundred years ago by the students to the number of some 3000, and were sacked and utterly broken up ; but this was not the greatest of the fights between the citizens and the students, " the Town and the Gown " as they say. Some fifty years later, on St. Scholastica's Day, 1354, the rancour between the town and the University came to a bloody issue. Some scholars drinking in a vintner's shop found fault with the liquor given to them, using saucy words, and were told it was quite good enough for them ; thereupon they broke the vintner's head, and a great riot ensued. The bell of St. Martin's tolled to call the Town to arms, and soon the great bell at St. Mary's, the University church, rang out for the students. All the rest of the day the fighting went on, arrows and stones, clubs and bare fists, many a broken head and many a bloody nose, and here and there a deadly wound. The Vice-Chancellor tried to make peace, but to no purpose. At last night fell and the fighting died out, and the students thought the business all over, as it had been many another time. But the lust of fighting had taken hold of the townspeople. They assembled again the next day and fiercely attacked the students as they were playing in Beaumont Fields. St. Mary's bell again pealed for rescue, and

every man, high or low, Proctor or Doctor, Master or student, was soon busy at the work ; but the town party was too strong. The students were driven back, and five halls were sacked. The following morning at daybreak the townspeople having collected a great multitude of people from outlying districts, again assailed the students. The Friars came out from their convents in procession array, with crucifix in front, and did their best to part and soothe the fighting masses, but they were themselves assailed by the citizens, and despitefully used and hurt, and their crosses were thrown down in the dust. The students fled in all directions, the doors of the colleges and halls were beaten down and the places sacked by the crowd ; many were killed and their bodies were thrown on the dust heaps and into privies ; some were taken and cruelly tortured, and the rest made their escape into the country. Certain diabolical imps took some of the chaplains and flayed them so far as their tonsures, and others they beat sore. Only the students of Merton made a good defence, and, from behind the strong walls of their college, kept the townspeople at bay. But the town suffered dearly for its victory ; the Bishop put it under an interdict, and the King sent down a commissioner and thereupon the Mayor and his bailiffs, who had failed to keep the mob in order, were locked up in gaol, and the Sheriff was sent about his business. And last, but not least, a new charter was granted to the University, which gave to the Chancellor and his representative the sole right of assize of bread, beer and wine, of weights and of measures, and of seizing putrid meat and fish. And all provisions seized were to be sent to St. John's Hospital, which stands outside the East Gate of the City, for the use of the inmates according to established custom.'

All this time we were standing in the open space of Carfax, and on the pavement just by my feet was a stout iron ring let into the stone.

'What is that ?' I said.

'That,' said Brother Eustace, 'is the bull ring ; on high days it is the custom here in England to fasten sometimes a bull by the nose, sometimes a bear by his collar, to this ring and then set fierce dogs on to worry and tear it, for the pleasure of the crowd. I have often seen a poor beast panting with rage and terror, foaming at the mouth, and bleeding from wounds all over its body. Sick and sad at heart would it have made our

Blessed Francis, who loved all God's creatures as his brothers and sisters.'

We went a little way up the street leading from Carfax to the North Street, to see the different shops and stalls which had their appointed places here. In the shops at the side were, on the one hand, the drapers, the shoemakers and the leather-sellers ; and on the other hand the mercers and the saddlers. In the street itself were the stalls and carts of the faggot and brush sellers, the fishmongers, corn dealers, tanners and poulters from the country, and the sellers of horse bread and hay and grass. We walked back to Carfax, and started again from there, going down the High Street towards the East Gate. Here on the right were the poulters' and butchers' shops which belonged to the townspeople and were open every day, and further on the shops of the glovers and parchment sellers.

On the other side of the way were the mercers' and goldsmiths' shops, and between these and the street leading up to Exeter College and the Trill Gate stood an old hostelry having the sign of the Mitre. Further on, between two churches, were the shops of the apothecaries and the dealers in spices. In the roadway were three rows of stalls and carts. On the left, by the goldsmiths' shops and the Mitre Hostel, were the sellers of woollen goods and gloves, in the middle the dealers in pots and pans, and on the right, in front of the butchers' shops, the stalls of the ale sellers. Further down the street on the right were the sellers of wood for burning and of timber, and on the left the dealers in pigs, while in the centre was a long row of straw carts. Brother Eustace told me that there was a market not far from St. Ebbe's Church for beasts and hogs, and outside the walls, he reminded me, were the horse markets near the Trill Gate and the wool market by Holywell.

'Now,' continued my guide, 'I will tell you about the two churches which stand not far from one another on the left of the road. The first, next to the Mitre, is dedicated to All Saints ; the Glovers go there to Mass every Trinity Monday before holding the election of the officers of their Guild ; their arms

are shewn on the south aisle. They maintain a light in the Trinity chapel in honour of the Holy Trinity ; you notice that their shops are just opposite the church. The next church, with the beautiful tower and spire, is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and is the church of the University. In it the different faculties hold their convocations. We will go in and sit in a corner, for I have much to tell you about this noteworthy place.'

We entered and sat down on a bench near the door from which we could see the whole length of the church with its great chancel. On the north side were the entrance to the Congregation or Chapter-house, and the chapels of St. Michael, St. Anne, our Lady, and St. Catherine.

'Over the Congregation-house is the University library containing many fair books with which you will doubtless,' said Brother Eustace, 'make acquaintance later on. The church itself is very ancient ; some say it was originally founded by King Alfred, but this I know not. Be this as it may, it was here in the time of William of Normandy as it is mentioned in old documents I have seen. In or about 1189 it was re-dedicated, in the presence of the prior of St. Frideswyde, as appears from a charter in the book of Godstow Abbey. The tower was built nigh on two hundred years ago, but the beautiful spire was added later. When the University meets here in solemn convocation, at the proclamation of the bedell the faculties go each to its proper quarters. The Theologians assemble in the Congregation-house, the Decretists in St. Anne's Chapel, the Physicians in St. Catherine's Chapel, the Jurists in St. Thomas' Chapel, and the Proctors and Regent Masters in our Lady's Chapel. It is in this church, too, that the Doctors of Theology celebrate their vesperies, that is to say, take part in public disputation on the eve of taking their degree, and it is in the nave of the church that degrees are conferred.

'And now I must tell you how our good friends and neighbours the Preachers won for us Oxford Friars the right to take a degree in Sacred Theology without first graduating in Arts. It was in this church that one of the Proctors of the Preachers shewed great boldness, and received rough and unseemly usage at the hands of the great men of the University and of their servants. The whole story was told to me when I was a boy by an aged Brother of the Dominicans, who, as a novice, was

present at the time. The dispute between the Friars and the Heads of the University was three-fold. First: no one could receive a degree in theology unless he had first graduated in Arts, or had been excused by a special grace of Convocation to be voted unanimously by all the faculties; so that one dissentient Master could bar the way for us Friars, as the rules of our Orders prevent us from studying profane literature or offering ourselves for graduation in Arts. Secondly: the University required that Friars, who were candidates for a theological degree, should preach their trial sermons and hold their vesperies in this Church of St. Mary and not in their own convent chapels, which the Friars held to be unreasonable and objectionable. And thirdly, no one was admitted to lecture on the Bible or the interpretation of Holy Scripture till he had first lectured on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard, the text book of Scholastic Theology. Another grievance of the Friars was that the Masters of Theology would not take part in the necessary public disputation with them, and so they were unable to comply with the requisite preliminaries for a degree—and further the Masters prevented scholars from attending the theological lectures and classes of the Friars. And so it happened that the Friars, who in Italy were by common consent accounted the sole guardians of Sacred Theology, and in France were by virtue of the Bull of our Father Pope Alexander IV, entitled *Quasi Lignum Vitae*, able to obtain their theological degree free from all secular control, were at Oxford subject to the general body of the University. Therefore in 1311 the Dominicans appealed to the Pope to allay their grievances. To the complaints of the Friars the University replied that for sixty years or so the statutes had been in force by which all theological candidates must previously graduate in Arts. Moreover the University alleged that the Church of St. Mary's was large and commodious for the sermons and disputations, whereas the private schools of the Friars were small and unsuitable. And they further said that the grace dispensing with the necessity for prior graduation in Arts was never refused to suitable candidates in Theology; and lastly they averred that much harm might be done if persons who had received no special training or culture in Scholastic Theology were allowed publicly to expound the Scriptures. The next step in the process was the publication of the formal appeal of the Preachers, which took place in the Church of our Order of Friars Minor in the presence

of a copious multitude of people ; after this the citation to appear before the Pope had to be served formally on the University. For this purpose the Proctor of the Preachers proceeded to the Chancellor's School, but was denied admission by a servant of the Chancellor and by others : so he waited outside till the Chancellor was leaving the building, and thrust the document into the bosom of his robe. Thereupon the Chancellor dropped the parchment into the mud and assailed the Proctor with injurious words against the Friars. Some nine months later the Proctor for the Friars entered St. Mary's Church, when the Doctors of the University were sitting in Convocation, and attempted to serve a second notice or citation, but was prevented and turned out of the building by force ; upon which he climbed up to an open window of the church and putting his head through it managed to read his notice to the end, and called on all present to take note that he had done so, and would affix the summons to the door of the church. This he succeeded in doing with a nail, although he was insulted and hustled by the college servants before he could effect his retreat. The case was thereupon carried to Rome, and a hearing granted before a Cardinal ; by him the matter was remitted for arbitrament in England and he directed that the award, when made, should be submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln for confirmation. The result was that the statute of the University under which the sermons and disputationes were to be delivered and held in St. Mary's Church was allowed, but it was provided that every Bachelor of Divinity should preach once in the church of the Dominican Friars, for which no fee was to be exacted by them. The statute which prohibited lectures on the Bible by anyone who had not obtained the degree of Bachelor of Divinity was also confirmed, and lastly the award confirmed the statute under which it was necessary to graduate in Arts before obtaining a theological degree, but it was provided that a grace to exempt from this requirement should not be refused unless good cause was shewn before the Chancellor, Proctors and Masters Regent in Theology. You will see,' said Brother Eustace, ' how careful the award was to save the dignity of the University, but that it did not withhold the favour asked by the Friars. It was duly confirmed by the Archbishop and the Bishop of Lincoln and after some delay was accepted in 1320 by the Friars. So ended the great dispute which for many years had made bad blood between our Brothers and the University.

'Ah,' continued he, 'I can well remember how merry the old Brother grew as he told the story. "It was I," he would say, "who gave the Proctor a leg-up when he climbed into the window, and it was on my back that he stood when he gave out his notice; I have never forgotten it, for the Proctor was a man of weight as well as of learning." And the old man would boast that he had dealt the Chancellor's manciple a shrewd blow in the ribs for bellowing at the Proctor after he had nailed the summons to the church door.'

Before leaving the church we walked all round it, and I noticed how ruinous and dilapidated it was in places, and how the chancel in particular needed repair and renovation.

The air struck warm as we left the cool church, and we went up a side street leading to Smith's Gate, which we had passed yesterday afternoon. 'Here,' said Eustace, 'is Cats Hall and over there little Mary's entry. The street itself is called Cat Street.'

At the gate we turned to our right, having the City wall on our left, and we soon came to a large pile of new buildings lying in the north-west angle of the compass of the City.

'Those,' said my guide, 'are the buildings of New College founded some twenty years ago by William of Wykeham, my Lord Bishop of Winchester, and at one time Chancellor of the Realm. He obtained in 1379 the King's licence to found his college, and the same year he bought from the City a piece of waste land in the corner of the ruined walls of the town, a place which in former times was a source of great annoy both to the townspeople and to the students, for all the stinking rubbish of that quarter of the town was cast there, and the place being desolate and deserted was the haunt of thieves, murderers, whores and other malefactors, so that scholars and others passing thereby were oftentimes maltreated, and sometimes slain. Here the Bishop himself laid the foundation stone of the new buildings, and in the course of the next seven years the same were completed. On the Vigil of Palm Sunday, 1386, the first Warden and Fellows entered the new college at 3 of the clock in the morning in solemn procession. Nor did the good Bishop stop there, for he bought other land and added to the Cloisters,

and he built up round the college a great embattled wall, continuing the line of the old broken-down City wall, with towers which served as chambers for the students. The year after the Warden and Fellows had entered the College at Oxford the Bishop began a new work, and laid the foundation of a great school at Winchester which he completed a few years ago. And he appointed that at his college at Oxford there should be a Warden, and seventy clerical scholars, ten to study the Civil law, and ten the Canon law. The other fifty were to study Arts and Philosophy and Divinity, but so that two thereof might apply themselves to the Art of Medicine and two to Astronomy. And he further appointed that there should be ten chaplains, three clerks and sixteen choristers who should daily celebrate divine service in the College chapel. And the Bishop went on to declare that any person who should be of his kindred should be entitled, if competently learned in grammar, to be admitted to the fellowship of his college without probationary service. Thus, moralized Brother Eustace, ' did a waste and desert place, full of noisomeness and wickedness, become a fair garden of the Muses and a home for learned and pious men.'

We left the College by a wicket gate near to an old church, which my companion said was known as St. Peter's-in-the-East and, according to common report, was built by Grimbald in the time of good King Alfred. ' But how that may be I know not,' said he.

Adjoining the churchyard, Brother Eustace pointed out to me a house of considerable size.

' Edmund Hall,' he said, ' is one of the most notable of the halls or lodging-places for students; indeed, it is more like a college and has had a "Principal" for close on a hundred years. A report has got about that it was founded by St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who lived some 200 years ago. It is true he was a student and a lecturer at the University, and that he was born in the neighbouring town of Abingdon; but records shew that at the time of his death this place was owned by one Edmund, a wealthy burgess of the City, from whom it came in course of time to Thomas of Malmesbury, Vicar of Cowley. He gave it, in or about 1269, to the canons of Osney, who have held it ever since. It may be that this Saint gave his name to the Hall, or it may be that it is called after

Edmund, the burgess, its former owner ; but this I cannot say.'

A short walk brought us to the East Gate, and, passing through it out of the City, and over the moat, we came to a large building on the left-hand side of the way. 'That,' said Eustace, 'is St. John's Hospital which was founded by King Henry II "Spiritu Sancto tactus," as an old chronicle in our library puts it, for the care and relief of infirm persons and strangers.'

Passing the hospital the road is carried over two branches of the Cherwell river by a bridge called the East Bridge or Pettipont, at the side of which was a little house which shelters the hermit of the bridge, whose duty it is to look after it and keep it in order. About a mile away over the meadows, not far from the road which goes to London by Cowley and Horspath, was a building on a little hill, which I learned from my friend was known as St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

'It was founded,' said he, 'by King Henry the First, who built Beaumont Palace, for the care and succour of leprous folk ; for which service he appointed twelve brethren and a chaplain, and he gave them an annual sum of 23*l.* and 5*l.* for their maintenance, and two loads of hay from his meadow near Osney. For some reason or another it fell into debt and decay, but Edward II would have restored it to its former state, had not the lepers come into general disrepute and hatred by reason of a suspicion that at the instance of Saracens and other enemies of the Christian faith they had poisoned the wells and founts at Paris and other places beyond the seas. So then his successor, seeing its condition, gave it to Oriel College as a place of health and safety for the scholars in times of pestilential sickness, and ordained that a chaplain and eight poor brothers should be maintained there at the expense of the College. By a custom recently established the Fellows of New College assemble there early in the morning on Ascension Day and hold a service with a special anthem or hymn, and offer each a piece of silver in a bowl decked with tutties, which money is afterwards given to the poor men of the hospital. And on May-day the youth of the City are wont to come out to the hospital, and welcome the coming of spring with music of fifes and drums, and with

dancing and garlands. Not many years ago the hospital had the custody of certain relics of great sanctity—the Comb of St. Edmund the Confessor, St. Bartholomew's skin, the bones of St. Stephen and one of the ribs of St. Andrew; but to the great grief of the hospitallers they were taken away by the Fellows of Oriel College, and placed in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin which we visited this morning.'

We had now crossed the bridge to the other side of the river, and turning to our right we came to an enclosed well which, I learned, was consecrated to St. Edmund of Canterbury.

'In times past,' said Brother Eustace, 'many people resorted to this well for the cure of their ailments, for it was reputed to be of great holiness; but more than a hundred years ago Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, perceiving that the people who frequented it were in danger of falling into gentile superstition, forbade that any should resort thereto under pain of anathema and excommunication.'

From here a path led towards the City through the meadow and over the river by two wooden bridges, and by the end of the last bridge there was a little stone chapel or hermitage.

'That is the chapel of our Lady in the Wall,' said Eustace, 'and I will tell you a story I read the other day in our library of one who, according to a very ancient Brother of our Order, dwelt and ministered in days gone by in this hermitage. It runs as follows: There was a certain poor clerk of this city at the time when St. Thomas of Canterbury was an exile in France. This poor man grew weary of his poverty, and continually besought the Blessed Virgin that she would have pity on him; for from childhood and through youth he had always been in want, and now that he was a priest he had not wherewithal to fill his belly or cover his nakedness. For many days he continued his complaint, and there was no response; but one morning, as he assisted at the altar, our Lady appeared to him, clothed in golden vestments, and asked him why he complained. And he answered, "Lady, I have been a beggar from my youth upwards and I am much troubled thereat; give me now, I pray, a helping hand in my necessity." Then said she, "Go

quickly to Dover and there shall you meet the Archbishop. Tell him from me to give you the church of which the rector died the day that he set forth on his exile." "But, Lady," said the clerk, "the Archbishop will not believe that you sent me." Then the Holy Virgin answered, "Say to him, that on the evening of the day that he set forth on his journey, he and his companions lay down to rest, and he found that his hood was torn, which caused him much distress, for he had no means of mending it ; and with this trouble on his mind he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found to his surprise that it was mended ; but he never knew how. Tell him from me, that it was I who did it with my own hands as he slept." And so she left him. And he straightway set forth to Dover, where he met the Archbishop, who had but just landed from the other side of the sea, and delivered his message. Thereupon the Archbishop, filled with amazement, gave him the church whereof our Lady had spoken, and he held it until the day of his death in humble gratitude and adoration.'

'A pretty tale enough,' said I. 'Our Blessed Francis had not yet shewn the loveliness and exceeding joy of most holy poverty, and the poor man's eyes were not opened to see for himself.'

We left the little chapel and walked towards the East Gate, and on our left, close under the City walls, was a great barn, which Eustace explained was the Grange of the monks of St. Frideswyde ; and on our right he pointed out to me the Cemetery of the Jews while they were yet in Oxford before their expulsion from the realm. It lay by the side of the main road, just opposite the Hospital of St. John. Facing the same road, between the path we were on and the East Gate of the City, stood an old house with a chapel, to which Brother Eustace called my attention.

'That,' he said, 'formerly belonged to the Trinitarian Friars, an Order which was founded in 1211 by two holy Anchorites, dwelling at Carfroy not far from Paris. Their habit is of white to denote innocence, with a blue and red cross thereon, to signify the agony of Christ the Son on the Cross, and in token of the love of the Holy Ghost. Their full name is "Fratres vel Monachi Trinitarii de redemptione captivorum" ; for the third part of whatever they obtain by gift, or charity, is to

be devoted to the redemption of Christian men, held in captivity by the Turks. The Brothers who dwelt here were all swept away by an epidemical contagion about fifty years ago, and their house escheated to the King. For many years he suffered a priest, appointed by the Minister of the Order at Hounslow, to dwell and celebrate Mass there ; but some ten years ago the King gave the house to the Burgesses of Oxford, in whose hands it now is.'

By this time we had passed through the East Gate, and walked by the main street towards the Church of St. Mary. A little distance down the street I noticed some buildings standing back from the road, almost under the walls of New College.

'Those buildings,' said Brother Eustace in answer to my inquiry, 'are Queen's College, which is named after Queen Philippa, the wife of Edward the Third. It was founded about sixty years ago by one Robert de Eglesfield, Chaplain to the Queen. Edward the Black Prince was at this college for some short time ; and Wycliffe the heretic, after he had been Master of Balliol College, came and dwelt here for several years. You see the windows over the gate ; they are the rooms in which Prince Henry of Monmouth, the son of our King, lodged when he came up a year or two ago to study at Oxford.'

My friend then called my attention to some houses on the other side of the way.

'These,' he explained, 'are part of University College, which claims to be the oldest of all the colleges, and was founded according to common repute by King Alfred. But some go so far as to say that the Venerable Bede himself was a student here. Be that as it may, the College as it now stands does not go back for more than a hundred and fifty years at the most, for it was built partly with money left by William of Durham, who died in 1349, and partly by the help of others who came after him, and the first statutes of the College, which a friend of mine, who is a Fellow there, shewed me only the other day, are of still later date.'

With this, we turned out of the High Street by a narrow lane running down by the side of University College, and at the end of it we came to a large church, which Brother

Eustace told me was dedicated to St. John the Baptist and belonged to Merton College.

‘The College,’ he said, ‘owes its origin, and its name, to Walter of Merton, at one time Chancellor of England, and afterwards Lord Bishop of Rochester. My Lord in the first place founded a house for twenty scholars at Maldon in Surrey, and endowed it with two manors, and afterwards provided his scholars with a house in Oxford, when they came up for education in the liberal arts and sciences. Finally he transferred the students wholly to Oxford, and bought part of the land, on which the College now stands, from the Abbot of Reading, and a further part from Jacob, son of one Mossey, a Jew of London, and others. There he built a fine hall and chambers for his scholars, and surrounded the whole with high and strong walls, so that the men of Merton, at the time of the great slaughter on St. Scholastica’s Day, were able to find refuge and safety within their own gates when the rest of the students of the University had to flee from the City into the open country. The first charter with statutes was granted in 1267, and other charters followed, the last of which, with statutes, was given in 1374. I have been told that Peterhouse, which is the most ancient college in Cambridge, is governed after the same model and manner. Some of the older members of Merton have told me that, forty or fifty years ago, there was a Fellow of the College who bore the same name as John Wycliffe, the heretic. He was a good quiet man, and was appointed by the Bishop of Chichester to be Vicar of Mayfield, and afterwards of Horsted Keynes, in Sussex, and Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral. He died shortly before his namesake. At one time he was Warden of Canterbury Hall. I have heard say that Geoffrey Chaucer, whose verses are in every man’s mouth, was one of his pupils. As to Master Chaucer, somebody from London told me twelve months ago that he was living at Westminster in a house bought by him in the garden of St. Mary’s Chapel, an old man and like to die soon. He may be dead by this time.’

A little stream, which turned a mill for grinding the College’s corn, ran through the garden and passed out by an opening in the City wall, which divides the College grounds from the rich low meadows, lying between the walls and the river, into which the Fellows have a way by a small postern gate in the wall.

Leaving Merton College, we retraced our steps along the street towards the church. Past the church, on the right-hand side of the way, was a large and fair house which my guide informed me was Oriel College, the last of the seven colleges of the University, of which he had told me the day before.

'It was founded,' said he, 'by King Edward the Second, under the name of "Domus Scholarium Beatae Mariae"; but his son, Edward III, having given to the College the house we are now looking at, which was known as "La Oriole," the College itself took the same name. You will remember that the hospital of St. Bartholomew, in the fields by Cowley, was bestowed by the same King on the scholars of Oriel, as a refuge in time of pestilence.'

'Now,' said Brother Eustace, 'the sun is high in the heavens, and we will go down into the meadows, and in a shady hollow that I know well, by the side of a running mill stream, we will eat, with joy and thankfulness, what our brother, the cook, has provided for us in our wallets. We will fill our bottles with fresh water before we leave the City, for the channels in the meadows are fed by the Trill mill stream, for the most part, the water of which, fresh and clear as it flows past our Friary, is befouled, and made noxious by the garbage thrown into it by the butchers of Lombards' Lane, just outside the South Gate of the City. Many have been the complaints, for much sickness has been caused by beer brewed with this tainted water.'

After we had filled our bottles at Oriel College, we went by a little lane at the side of the Merton College Church, through a gate in the walls, into the waving meadows, stretching away to the shining river, cut up by streams and channels, with here and there a water mill, and here and there a line of willows. Beyond the river, in the clear light of the summer noon, were the low hills that lie round about the town. Here in a little nook shaded by a bushy alder, in full view of the towers and spires of the City, and not far from a noble church with a great square tower, we ate our food and gave thanks, and then—the heat being very great, and the place where we sat very still and quiet—for the space of an hour or more we fell into meditation and spoke

not. But when the bells rang out the hour of nones, we aroused ourselves, and Brother Eustace told me that the big church with the tower was dedicated to St. Frideswyde, the patron saint of the City, and that it and the buildings lying near to it belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Austin, and had been their priory for many years.

'Before we leave this cool and comfortable spot,' said Brother Eustace, 'I will tell you the legend of the holy Virgin St. Frideswyde. Many hundred years ago there lived near Oxford a noble prince, named Didan, who was lord of the City and of much country round about it. To him and his wife Safrid was born one child only, a girl, whom they named Frideswyde, and she was the joy of their lives. As she grew to womanhood, so did she grow in grace; and her father and mother committed her to the charge of the Abbess of St. Mary's in Winchester, a woman of great piety and much learning, by whom she was instructed and encouraged. Under the watchful care of this holy matron the young girl increased in virtue, and her fastings and prayers came up as a memorial before God, and mightily moved Satan against her, so that he oft-times opposed and afflicted her. Not long after, her mother died, committing the care of her dear child to her Lord. Now it was his desire that the girl should marry a worthy prince, by whom she should bear children, to inherit the great possessions which would one day come to her; but when her father opened his heart to her, she told him that she was not willing to be an earthly bride, nor would she take the veil, for she thought she could more truly serve God as a great lady in the world than as a religious shut up within the walls of a cloister. Therefore she besought her father, for the love he bore her, to build her a church where she and her maidens might worship. This he did on the place where now stands the great church you see before you. When the prince her father saw that his daughter Frideswyde was steadfastly fixed in her determination not to marry, he again urged her to put herself under the protection of Heaven and Holy Church. This time she followed his counsel, and became the Abbess of twelve noble maidens, for whom her father built a suitable house hard by the church and endowed it with much land round and about it. Having thus accomplished his purpose, he died, full of days and of honour, and his body was laid to rest by the side of his beloved wife and honoured lady in the

church which he had built. For some time his daughter led a quiet life, in her convent with her nuns, but the fame of her beauty and wealth spread abroad far and wide, and reached the ears of Algar, King or Lord of Lincoln. He fell ardently in love with both the lady and her fortune, and vehemently sought her in marriage, and sent ambassadors to persuade her to his desire, with instructions if needs be to carry her off by force. Now when they had come to her gates, they demanded audience of her, and made known their Lord's behests ; to whom she replied that she was the spouse of our Lord Jesu Christ, and could admit no earthly love. But they, with small courtesy, told her that she was not her own governess, but was subject to the pleasure and command of their Lord, and that if she would not consent of her own will, they would take her by violence. By none of these words was the virtuous lady in any way moved, and the ambassadors withdrew, as if to depart home ; but no further did they go than to some obscure place in the City, from which they sallied out, the next morning, with their armed followers, to assault the house of the nuns and take their Abbess, Frideswyde, away. Then a wondrous thing happened, for they were all stricken with blindness, and ran up and down in their confusion, tumbling over obstacles, and doing themselves no small hurt. Now when the people of the town saw this, they were much grieved, and went to the Abbess, and told her what had happened, and besought her to intercede with Heaven that the offenders might recover their sight ; and they promised that they would take good care that the King's men departed at once and caused her no further annoy. Moved by compassion, she besought the grace they asked, and the sight of the ambassadors and their followers was restored, and they departed, and told their Lord all that had been done. Upon this he, being wilful and headstrong, became greatly enraged and swore that he would make that "witch, hag and fury Frideswyde" an example to all her kind, with many other evil words ; and he collected a great army and set forth to Oxford to compel her to his will. But the night before he came to the City an angel appeared to Frideswyde, as she lay in her nunnery, and warned her of her danger and instructed her to go to the river side, where she would find a means of escape. In the darkness of night she went down to the banks of the river before you, no great distance, and there she found a boat waiting for her, in which was a young man of beautiful countenance, with shining

white raiment. He received her into the boat in silence, and rowed her up the stream for many miles, and put her ashore near Bampton. Here she took refuge in a deserted pig-sty, in the depths of a vast and dismal wood, and she abode there for three long years. Thus she escaped; and the headstrong King, not believing the townspeople, who withstood his entry to the town, saying that Frideswyde had departed they knew not whither, prepared to assault the walls, and take the City by storm. Then, for the second time, the vengeance of Heaven fell and he was smitten with blindness, and his sin being great, the blindness remained upon him till he died in his own country, to which his followers led him back. But the holy maid at the end of the three years came down the river again by boat and landed at Binsey, which is not far from the City, in the direction of Rewley Abbey. There she built herself a little cell, and because there was no water, a spring burst forth for her use, which you can see to this day. After abiding there for some time, she was entreated by the citizens to enter the City again; and one bright day she came riding on a milk-white ox. Some funny fellows say that the town takes its name from this, for when the ox slackened its pace, the Abbess admonished it saying, "Bos perge," or, in our own tongue, "Ox forth." From that time, up to the day of her death, she abode partly in Oxford and partly in Binsey. And when at last she departed this life in the full odour of sanctity, just as the body of our own Brother Agnellus of Pisa, the companion of the Blessed Francis, diffused its sweetness when his coffin was opened in our church, so did a sweet savour as of fresh violets arise from her corpse, and fill the whole City. The church which her father had built for her, in which lay the bones both of him and her mother, received her body too. And in after years when she had been canonized as a saint, it was called by her name and is so called to this day. Her shrine in the church is the object of the deepest veneration, and many wonderful cures have been wrought through her intercession.

' After her death her nuns departed, and the church and house, with their belongings, were handed over to the Austin Canons, and at times they were tenanted by the Secular Clergy, and, at other times, by the Regulars. For many years, however, and indeed ever since the time of Guymund, who beautified and restored the church in the reign of Henry the First, the Monastery has been in the occupation of the Canons Regular of the Austin

Rule. Their possessions have much increased since that time. The church itself, with a great part of the town, was destroyed by fire more than 200 years ago, and was rebuilt soon after. The other buildings that you see about it are the refectory, the dormitory, the sanctuary where the debtors and malefactors, who have taken refuge in the Priory, dwell secure from arrest, the infirmary or hospital, and the chapel of the sick. There are also lodgings for guests and travellers and a library. The Priory Grange, you will remember, is close under the City walls not far from the Chapel of our Lady in the Wall.

‘There are one or two other places I can point out to you from here,’ continued Brother Eustace; ‘first, the building you see behind the church is Peckwater’s Inn, the largest hostel for Oxford scholars. Close by is Canterbury Hall, or College, which we spoke about in connexion with that John Wycliffe who was the namesake of the heretic. Behind, and to the left of these, is the quarter where the accused Jews dwelt before they were expelled from the kingdom. It lay in the angle made by the High Street and the street called Fish Street, turning south from Carfax towards St. Aldate’s Church and the South Gate of the City. Not only here, but in other parts of the town, the Jews held much property. Two great houses, just opposite St. Martin’s Church in the Great Bayley, belonged to one of their race. Another sold a great part of the site of Merton College to Walter of Merton, the founder; they also owned a large piece of land between the City walls and the Trill Mill stream, near to the South Gate, where the shambles now are. The road through this land is still known as Lombards Lane. And a great many of the halls, in which the students lodge, were kept by them.’

Rested and refreshed, we resumed our way, over a small wooden foot bridge across the Trill Mill stream, and so by another small bridge to a postern gate near the great church. We entered the Priory, and passed through it into the main north and south road of the City, close by St. Aldate’s Church, which my companion told me was accounted one of the oldest in the City. Turning to our left, we went out of the town by the South Gate, and made our way towards the river and the open country, having on our left the meadows

in which we had sat and rested, and on our right a church and some monastic buildings.

‘There,’ said Brother Eustace, ‘you see the monastery of our friends and neighbours the Preachers, or Friars of the Order of St. Dominic. We shall pass through on our way home.’

A short walk brought us to the banks of the River Thames, which is very wide here, and is divided into several channels by little islands, across which ran a long bridge.

‘This bridge is called Grandpont ; you will remember that the bridge over the Cherwell by the East Gate is called Pettipont, great bridge and little bridge. Grandpont also has its hermit to look after it and collect tolls. He lives in a little oratory, or chapel, at the far end of the bridge ; you will see it more clearly as we pass along the bridge. The garden enclosure opposite to it, on our left, is known as Bridgeswyth Place ; a house stood upon it in past years, but has now been pulled down. The bridge itself was built by Robert d’Oilly, a notable knight who came over from Normandy in the train of William the Conqueror. He was a man who by common repute spared neither rich nor poor, and had no thought but to increase his wealth, and for this he would stop at nothing, despoiling even our Holy Mother, the Church. One evil day, as the story goes, he took from the monks of Abingdon, with the King’s consent, a rich meadow lying between the river and the City walls, one of those meadows in which we sat and rested. The Brethren gathered together, and besought our Lady to punish him for his offence, or else to soften his heart, so that he might make reparation. No long time after, the wicked knight fell into a grievous sickness, in which he lay for many days, yet his heart remained hard and impenitent. But one night he had a vision, and saw himself as it were in the palace of a great King, and on a throne surrounded by a great multitude of prelates, warriors and courtiers sat a Lady, passing fair and noble, and before the throne stood two monks of Abingdon. As soon as they caught sight of Sir Robert, they fell on their knees before the Lady—“Holy Virgin Mother,” they said, “behold the man who has robbed our Monastery of our fair meadow at Oxford.” Upon which she turned about, and calling to her side two young men, bade them take Sir Robert to the meadow he had filched, that he might suffer punishment. And when he was come there he

was delivered over to a crowd of serving men, and others of the baser sort, who set upon him and despitefully entreated him, thrusting in his face burning wisps of hay and in many other ways maltreating him most grievously and contemptuously, till in terror he cried out, in a loud voice, to our Lady, praying her for help and pity. With that he awoke sweating and quaking, and told his wife, who lay by his side, of his vision, and of the wrong he had done to the monks of Abingdon. His lady, a pious woman and a faithful daughter of the Church, entreated her husband, whom she dearly loved, to put away his wickedness and entrust himself to the hands of the Lord, and strive in the time that remained to him, to make amends for the evil he had wrought. To all this he gave good heed, and, so soon as his strength returned, he went to the Abbey of Abingdon and confessed his sins, and his desire to make restitution, to the Abbot, who gladly received his confession and gave him absolution. From this time forth he led a new life ; and the first fruit of his penitence, after he had restored the meadow, was the building of this noble bridge with the hermitage. Many other good works he did. Among others he built the Church and Convent of St. George in the Castle. It was his nephew, who bore the same name, that founded the Abbey of Osney.'

With this we turned back towards the City, and as we went I asked Brother Eustace to tell me about the gate and tower which stood about halfway across the bridge.

'The name of the gate,' said he, 'is the New Gate, though it was built many years ago—probably by King Stephen for the defence of the City ; and the tower is generally called Friar Bacon's Tower, for the common report is that he came here by night to observe the movement of the stars, and as some say, to practise magical arts. I hold it more likely, that if he wished to read the stars he would do so from the top of the gate which adjoins our monastery. You know, I doubt not, that he was a Brother of our Order and that when he died, an old man of eighty, his body was buried in our monastery. For myself I always look upon him as a good and wise man ; he came to us when he had long passed his youth. He was the pupil and friend of our first lector, the good Bishop Grostête, and the companion of his successor, Adam Marsh. Soon after Adam Marsh died, Roger Bacon, deprived of his protection and countenance, was banished from England, and for ten years he lived in Paris under

strict oversight ; at the end of which time he came back to England. But his troubles were not yet over, for in 1278 he was condemned at a Chapter of our Order, held in Paris by Jerome of Arcoli, " propter quasdam novitates," for certain strange opinions, and remained in prison for about fourteen years, when he was released by Raymond Gaufredi, the then General of our Order, at a Chapter also held at Paris. But I dare say you, fresh from there, know more about this than I do. After that, the old man had peace for two or three years before he died, working almost up to the last, though he had long passed the allotted span of life. I have often looked at his books in our library and have read many of them, and I see naught to cause the abhorrence with which some men regard them. One of his sayings always sticks in my mind. " It is the first step in wisdom to have regard to the person to whom one speaks " ; for it is the keynote of the preaching of our Brothers in the early and fervent times of our Order. But, he continued, ' the number of books that he wrote and the many subjects he treated are a marvel to me, to whom learning does not come so easily. We have of his works in our library, many tomes on Astronomy, on Mathematics and on Natural Science, and not a few on Logic and Moral Philosophy and the Holy Scriptures. It would be difficult for me to name any branch of either Sacred or Natural Science which he did not touch upon.'

By this time we were halfway towards the City walls, and on the left of our road we came to a fine gateway, through which we passed.

' We are now,' said my guide, ' near the end of our day's walk. That is the gate of the Preachers', or Dominicans', Convent, and is generally called Black Friars' gate. The Preachers, as I dare say you know, came to Oxford a year or two before the Friars Minor, and at our first coming they shewed us no small kindness. They have a fine place here. Yonder fair stately building is their chapel, in which (as I have heard tell) the parliament which is to this day called the " Mad Parliament " sat for some time, about one hundred and fifty years ago. In it was buried that bad man, Piers Gaveston, after he was beheaded. His body did not remain there long, for after two years it was taken away and put in the Dominican Church at King's Langley. But many others more worthy are buried here.

Yonder are the cloisters and the other buildings of the Monastery ; you can see them more at leisure another day. If we walk on we shall come to the gate by the Preachers' Bridge which is hard by the Little Gate of the City wall and within a stone's throw of our own Gate House. I told you this morning, when we were in St. Mary's Church, about the controversy between the Preachers and the University ; but long before that there was a great dispute between us and our neighbours the Preachers. It was before the time of any living person, but there is a full account of it in our library written, some say, by Brother Thomas of Eccleston. Now, though the two great orders of Friars, the Dominicans, or Preachers, founded by St. Dominic, and the Franciscans, or Brothers Minor, founded by the Blessed Francis, have on the whole lived in brotherly love towards one another, yet like brothers according to nature, we have had from time to time our quarrels and disputes, and of these not the least bitter have been those caused by some silly dispute about trifles or by some misunderstanding that a few words of quiet explanation, if listened to, would quickly put to an end.'

So sitting on the low parapet of the bridge, just outside the convent gate, with the yellow sunlight of the closing day about us, and the freshening air faintly stirring, Brother Eustace told me the story of the dispute between the two communities, whose houses were so near to one another and whose guiding spirit was so alike ; how it began ; how it grew into bitterness ; and how it happily ended.

' One winter's morning early in the year 1269, two Preacher Brothers set out from the gate of their Friary here to do some little matter of business with their neighbours, the Brothers Minor. A few steps over the little stream and through the city walls brought them to our gate. When the business was done, the two Preachers stood talking outside to one or two of our Brothers on the merits of their two Orders. They were all young men, or they would have known that such talk was unprofitable, and sure to lead to quarrelling. Suddenly Brother Salomon of the Preachers, a young monk of somewhat contentious and overbearing disposition, spluttered out : " You Minors make a great boast of your poverty, but you know that you receive money by intermediaries just as we do directly."

“ ‘Don’t say that, Brother,’ ” cried Alanus, one of our Order, “ the very word money is a word of offence to us ; we do not, and by our rules we cannot, receive it.”

‘ Then Brother Salomon, very red in the face, pointed up to the painted Crucifix above the arch of our door, and exclaimed :

“ ‘I swear by that Crucifix that it is true, and I will maintain it even before our Holy Father, the Pope’ ” ; and not satisfied with saying it once he said it over and over again.

‘ The Brothers Minor said no more, but courteously conducted the two Preachers back to their Friary ; and as they were leaving the Preachers’ Gate, Brother Alanus went back, and begged Brother Salomon, for the sake of brotherly kindness, to take back his words. Instead of doing this, he began again, putting his statement into logical form thus :

“ ‘Your vow says you shall not receive money ; you do receive it, therefore you are in a state of damnation,’ ” to which Brother Alanus replied by denying the minor premise, and, seeing that Brother Salomon was unduly heated, he straight-way departed.

‘ Thereupon, after the matter had been fully considered by the whole of our Brothers, two of our Order were sent to the Preachers to request redress ; and the Preachers after a short delay sent over to us two of their Brothers with this message :

“ ‘We say, that if you will shew us that Brother Salomon has spoken falsely concerning you, we will correct him.’ ” But our answer was :

“ ‘Not so. You say that we receive money, and we deny it ; it is for you to prove your words ; the burden of proof rests with him who affirms.’ ”

‘ After much argument and setting forth of cases, Brother Vicentius of the Preachers suddenly put the fat in the fire, as the common people here say, by exclaiming, “ You never find two Friars of your Order of the same mind about the matter.” ’

“ ‘Nay,’ ” said the Minors, “ not once, but in eight separate Convocations, has the Rule been affirmed, and that with one voice and one heart.”

‘ In no way abashed Brother Vicentius replied, “ That is all right ; that is what you say in public ; but if I had you two,” pointing to Brother William of Wykeham and Brother Dionysius, “ by myself, I should not find you of one mind about this thing, but should get something different from each of you.” ’

‘ This caused a break up of the conference, and Brother

Vicentius was admonished not only by our Brothers, but also by his own colleagues ; and he fell at the feet of our Brothers and humbly acknowledged his fault, but his fellow Preacher was very angry with him and bitterly reproached him.

' The next day, having heard no more from the Preachers, we sent again for redress, and they promised it, as the record says, " pacifice et mansuete et humiliter," but they did not keep their promise.

' Then the Minors made two formal demands ; first, that the original transgression of Brother Salomon should be set straight, and withdrawn ; and second, that the Preachers should come over to have a friendly discussion with us, so that we might get on good terms with one another again.

' In response to this, the Preachers sent four Brothers to us, who told us that Brother Vicentius had been adjudged by the Chapter, and condemned and punished. At this the spokesman stopped, and we waited in vain for an apology for Brother Salomon's offence ; " for," said the Preachers when we pointed this out to them, " we were not sent for that purpose." Then having discharged their formal duty, they and we had a friendly conversation ; and Brother Thomas Docking, who was a man of great repute among us for learning, suggested an appeal to the Pope on the question as to whether we did, or did not, receive money ; and he went on to say, " We are bound by a Rule, that we observe in conformity with the Popé's declaration, which he affirmed was in accord with the mind of the Blessed Francis, and in that declaration he says that so long as we observe the terms of it, and also our Rule, we do not receive money by an intermediary."

' Upon this a lot of somewhat heated talk followed, till one of the Preachers said :

" ' I cannot see how you make out that you don't receive money.' Whereupon Brother Thomas Docking, being by nature somewhat choleric, called out : ' Most beloved Brother, I can safely say that if you had not changed the garb you wore before you put on the gown of your religion, I would very easily persuade you of the truth of my profession of poverty, and for the space of seven psalms you should see it, as we see it, clearer than light.' "

' After this, we tried hard to get the Preachers back to the main question, but they said they had no mandate as to this, but would report. So back they went home.

' The following day, two Brothers Minor were sent over to the Preachers, but could get no satisfaction.

' Soon after the provincial Prior of the Preachers' order visited Oxford, and we sent to ask him to intervene, and punish Brother Salomon. After consulting the Brothers, he sent back to say, that he would see that Brother Salomon did not speak against the Minors in the future, but that he could not see his way to punish him, because he had acted according to his conscience ; and also that he would have sent Brother Salomon to us to confess his fault if he had not feared that he would give further provocation, and make matters worse. Then we, and the Prior, held friendly converse on the matter, and the Prior said that he could not see how when money came to be used for our service, no matter how, we could say it never came into our ownership, and nothing we said could convince him, though we tried our utmost. After he had gone, we took counsel together, and made a formal demand that Brother Salomon should be sent away from Oxford, and the Preachers promised to consider it. The result was, that the Prior sent us two envoys to say that Brother Salomon was most useful to him, and could not be spared, and also that a private fault did not call for a public punishment, and that we ought to be satisfied with what he had said before. Then the envoys went on to say, that we Minors ought not to let ourselves be upset by one fool, and that we ought to shew the same good feeling as we had shewn in the past ; and lastly they suggested that it would be well for us to expound our own Rule so that they might know from ourselves, and not from others, what it meant. After certain friendly words, the conference broke up. Then we held counsel together, and sent an envoy to the Preachers, with a definite inquiry whether they would, or would not, send Brother Salomon away ; and they would not. After this, the Prior of the Preachers left Oxford for a time, and nothing was done during his absence, but on his return, the Preachers put the case before the Chancellor of the University and four Masters of great repute, and at the request of the Preachers the Minors were summoned, in solemn form, by the bedell of the University. Then we put forward five Masters to meet those named by the Preachers, and we laid our case before these five. And one of the Masters, a man skilled in law, both sacred and secular, John le Gros, grasped our point at once, and averred his willingness to maintain our position before the Curia itself; if needs be : and others

of them concurred after some discussion. Thereupon we told the Masters the whole story, which filled them with astonishment ; and finally the arbitrators for both parties met, and the dispute was referred to them ; we praying that the matter should be so arranged that neither the Preachers nor Brother Salomon should offend again ; and we demanded that the offending brother should be admonished by his own Prior. As Master John le Gros was comforting our Warden, who said he was sad, and ashamed, that the dissensions between the Brothers of the two Orders should become open and public, one of the Preachers' arbitrators came up, and said he had won over the Preachers after a long talk and that their Prior, moved by the Holy Spirit, had affirmed that he was ready to throw himself at the bare feet of the Minors, and give them full satisfaction. And the Masters acknowledged that the Minors, acting in accord with the Pope's declaration, could not be said to receive money. And Brother Salomon came, with five others of the Preachers, and before an equal number of our Brothers admitted his fault, in words which he had written down and handed to our Warden, and asked forgiveness. So ended the matter ; but in the friendly talk which followed, Brother Salomon contended that what really happened was, that he had said, that if certain premises, which he had understood Brother Alanus to affirm, were correct, then certain conclusions followed ; and Brother Alanus said, that he was the only one of our Order present at the time, and if the Preacher Brothers said that Brother Salomon's version was correct, he would willingly submit himself to punishment ; but, as a Brother Minor said, all this was of little moment seeing that the main question as to the receipt of money had, thanks to God, been put right.'

‘The whole dispute,’ said Brother Eustace, ‘lasted from beginning to end nearly six months, since which time we have lived happily and at peace with our Brothers and neighbours.’

As he finished speaking we rose to our feet for the short journey to our own Friary.

Slowly I roused myself from my day-dream, and almost felt surprised to find myself on the floor of my punt in white flannels, instead of the brown gown of the Order of St. Francis ; and through the warm air came floating the deep

sounds of Great Tom, which, I remembered old Anthony saying, had been cast from the metal of the great bell of Osney. 'Twelve o'clock!' said I to myself; 'my walk through Oxford with Brother Eustace has cost me my breakfast.'

ART. VII.—THE POETRY OF IRELAND.

1. *The Works of John M. Synge.* (Dublin: Maunsell and Co. 1910.)
2. *Bards of the Gael and Gall.* By GEORGE SIGERSON, M.D., F.R.U.I. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1907.)
3. *A Treasury of Irish Poetry.* Edited by STOPFORD A. BROOKE and T. W. ROLLESTON. (London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1900.)
4. *The Dublin Book of Irish Verse.* Edited by JOHN COOKE. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co. 1909.)
5. *A Book of Irish Verse.* Edited by W. B. YEATS. (London: Methuen and Co. 1895.)
6. *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry.* Translated by KUNO MEYER. (London: Constable. 1911.)

And other Works.

I

It has been said that until recent times the whole air of Scotland was redolent of song. It would be equally true to say that the whole air of Ireland was redolent of song, but not song of the ballad type, that type which has made Scottish song famous. We have frankly to allow that in Irish verse we know nothing so distinctive as the Yarrow poetry, as the Douglas Tragedy, as Glasgerion—

nothing to haunt, as generations have been haunted by.

'There was a roar in Clyde's water,
Wad fear'd a hundred men.'

or,

'Half ower, half ower, to Aberdour,
It's fifty fathoms deep ;
And there lies gude Sir Patrick Spens
Wi' the Scotch lords at his feet.'

We think we can account for this apparent want in Irish verse, but before doing so we would point out that in Ireland's remote villages and on its lonely coasts, the everyday language of the Irish peasant is full of poetical imagery and a truly poetic love of wild nature which proclaims him a descendant of the early Irish bards. As Mr. Synge, its best exponent, has told us, the popular imagination of Ireland is still 'fiery and magnificent and tender.' This tender and fiery magnificence will be found imprisoned with rare fidelity and felicity in his own very remarkable Irish plays.

Mr. Synge stands by himself in a niche in the literary Temple of Fame where there is no man quite of his peculiar literary make to compete with him. To us he appears to be a solitary *littérateur*, not to be labelled but, we venture to think, not in his own line to be surpassed. He has found a field not occupied by any other writer. That field is the heart of the Irish peasant of the remote West—a wilder field than that occupied by Lady Gregory in her charming plays. And Mr. Synge has been able to imprison the words, the thoughts, the quick changing moods, changing as the moods of children change, of the Irish poor with an almost brutal truthfulness, but a truthfulness which is genius. He has done this as no other writer has done it or can now do it without seeming to be a plagiarist. His plays will, we think, find a place in literature because the one and by no means contemptible end of the author has been achieved. He wished to give the

world reality and he has done this. It is his determined truthfulness that makes his originality. He says in his preface to the first edition of *The Play Boy of the Western World* that he has used one or two words only that he has not heard among the country people of Ireland.

In reading these plays we shall be struck by the poetic love of and knowledge of nature, which is the inheritance of these sons and daughters of the wild sea coasts and the brown hills of Western Ireland. 'See as clear as the grey hawks do be high up, on a still day, sailing the sky'¹ says Timmy the Smith in *The Well of the Saints*, and no scientist could better note or describe the action of the kestrel in still weather, no poet could see more directly the beauty of the thing described. And what a quick ear for natural sounds is in the words of Martin Doul, the blind beggar, in the same play.

'Sitting alone in the cold air,' he says, 'hearing the night coming, and the blackbirds flying round in the briars crying to themselves, the time you'll hear one cart getting off a long way in the east and another cart getting off a long way in the west, and a dog barking may be and a little wind turning the sticks.'

We hear it all and see the gathering darkness and still evening coming on, and with more delight we listen to the sprightly, light-hearted old Mary Doul breaking in with,

'There's the sound of one of them twittering yellow birds do be coming in the spring-time from beyond the sea and there'll be fine warmth now in the sun, and a sweetness in the air, the way it'll be a grand thing to be sitting here quiet and easy smelling the things growing up and budding from the earth.'²

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of this quick knowledge of nature and nature's moods and their influence on the changeful Celtic heart; illustrations of their power to play on these hearts; sunshine making them glad in spite of rags and poverty, the dark grey all-encompassing gloom of winter nights seeing nothing but 'the mists rolling down the bog' and hearing nothing but 'the wind crying out in the

¹ *The Well of the Saints*, p. 65.

² *Ibid.* p. 115.

bits of broken trees',¹ to make them sad. ' You'll be hearing the herons crying out over the black lakes,' says the tramp in *The Shadow of the Glen*, ' and you'll be hearing the grouse and the owls with them and the larks and the big thrushes when the days are warm.'² The Celtic heart responds to the sunshine and the birds, but the shadow of the glen falls over it too, and shadow seems its most abiding resting place—the shadow of the ' mists rolling down the bog.' ' If it's ever happy we are, stranger,'³ says Nora, young still.

And with this love of nature there is also seen in these revealings the admiration of the beauty of the human form which seems as much part of the Irish peasant's nature as it was a part of the Greek nature. The plot and the pathos of *The Well of the Saints* turns on this characteristic and with it is joined that other feature of the Celtic mind, the dread of old age as dimming this beauty. In *The Shadow of the Glen* this pathos quite overshadows the humour which is there too, if we could see it through the sadness with which it is overlaid.

' Why should I marry you, Mike Dara ? ' says young Nora. ' You'll be getting old and I'll be getting old and in a little while, I'm telling you, you'll be sitting up in your bed with a shake in your face and your teeth falling and the white hair sticking out round you like an old bush where sheep do be leaping a gap. . . . God forgive me, Michael Dara, we'll all be getting old, but it's a queer thing surely.'⁴

And while the language of these people is instinct with the love of nature, the quick response to nature's moods, and such simple and elementary feelings, we see too that something of the charm of that language is due to the fact that it is the language of a people who have few things of man's inventions and desiring: from Regent Street to Arran how far in this respect ! They have nature's spaciousness around them, nature's sounds in their ears, nature's colour in their eyes. How few things that are

¹ *The Shadow of the Glen*, p. 19.

² *Ibid.* p. 27.

³ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 21.

not sky or birds or flowers or mists, or the thoughts of men's hearts, are spoken of in these plays! The bit of new rope that 'the pig with the black feet was eating,' the fine white boards from Connemara, Mary Moul's big shawl, 'for I do look my best, I've heard them say, when I'm dressed up with that thing on my head,'¹ so few things made by man, but so much that man has not made—black bog, the 'grand glittering seas,'² the yellow gorse, hawks in the sky, and those thoughts of men's hearts when the mist is creeping down the silent glen.

In works in which the success depends and is intended to depend on shewing forth the spirit of the Irish peasants' life and thoughts of life, literary form and construction is no part of the scheme, and it would be easy to point out that Mr. Synge's plays have little or no variety in them,³ and that they are deficient in plot. But the plays of the most tragic of the Greek poets were deficient in this respect also, and there is something more valuable than plot, less artificial, more human, more arresting. It is the fateful note running through the whole: man's will overruled by something above and outside of it—'the counsel of Zeus being accomplished.'

Nowhere is this seen so well and to greater effect than in *Riders to the Sea*, which to our mind stands first of Mr. Synge's plays. It is a story of the islands off the west coast of Ireland where the triumphant sea shadows and dominates human life. In its cruelty, in its awe, in the powerlessness of man to withstand it, the sea is a type of fate and too often is fate itself. *Riders to the Sea* has in its texture all the old Greek solemnity, and the shadow of a fatality not to be eluded. Maurya has lost a husband and four sons on that relentless coast and is awaiting the recovery of the body of a fifth son, Michael, who is drowned far away off Donegal. In the midst of this dread, Bartley, the last son, goes off to the Galway horse fair to

¹ *The Well of the Saints*, p. 66.

² *Ibid.* p. 124.

sell the red mare and the grey pony, goes in spite of his mother's request to him to stay. The shadow of impending fate is over Bartley as he comes in 'sadly and quietly' to look for the bit of new rope that the pig with the black feet was eating, to make a halter for the grey pony. The rope hangs by the white boards, 'the finest white boards you'll find in Connemara,'¹ which Maurya has got for the coffin of Michael. Bartley takes the halter for the grey pony, that pony which half an hour after drags him to his death in the sea.

And Bartley goes without his mother's blessing. 'He's gone now,' she cries, 'God spare us, and we'll not see him again. He's gone now and when the black night is falling I'll have no son left me in the world.'² When urged by Kathleen to follow him to the boat and say, 'God speed you, the way he'll be easy in his mind,' she goes but returns to say with Shakespearean abruptness and distinction: 'I seen the fearfulest thing.'³

Then she tells how she has seen her two sons, the dead Michael and the living Bartley together, Bartley riding the red mare and Michael 'with fine clothes on him and new shoes on his feet' and he 'riding and galloping' on the grey pony which Bartley is leading.

Then the women know that fate is coming fast and they await it. 'They're carrying a thing among them, and there's water dripping out of it and leaving a track by the big stones,' says Nora.

Fate has now done its worst. Life has no more to give of sorrow. No worse thing can come to Maurya. 'They're all gone now and there is not anything more the sea can do to me,' she cries.

'Ah me! And is it come, the end of all,
The very crest and summit of my days?
I go forth from my land. . . .'⁴

But in that exclamation of a common woe the semblance

¹ *Riders to the Sea*, p. 36. ² *Ibid.* p. 37. ³ *Ibid.* p. 43.

⁴ Gilbert Murray, *The Trojan Women*, p. 74.

between the Greek mother and the Celtic mother ceases. Contrast is then the only relation.

‘Why call I on the Gods ? They know, they know,
My prayers, and would not hear them long ago.’¹

cries the Greek woman.

‘They’re altogether this time and the end has come,’ says Maurya, in as tragic a cadence but with no railing on fate or on Gods who did not hear, ‘may the Almighty God have mercy on Bartley’s soul, and on Michael’s soul, and on the souls of Sheamus and Patch and Stephen and Shawn, and may He have mercy on my soul, Nora, and on the soul of every one that is left living in the world.’²

It is a cadence caught from old and beautiful rituals and from that belief in an overmastering fate against which no man can strive.

‘She’s quiet now and easy,’ says Nora, ‘but the day Michael was drowned you could hear her crying out from this to the spring well. It’s fonder she was of Michael.’³ But it was Nora’s ignorance of grief’s power that spoke. It was not in her youthfulness to know that the knowledge that the worst has come and that all fitful joy, all hourly care, is for ever over, can bring rest—the joyless rest of a dead heart.

‘They’re all gone now and there isn’t anything more the sea can do to me. . . . I’ll have no call to be up crying and praying when the wind breaks from the south and you can hear the surf is in the east, and the surf is in the west, making a great stir with the two noises and they hitting one on the other. . . . It isn’t that I haven’t prayed for you, Bartley, to Almighty God. It isn’t that I haven’t said prayers in the dark night till you wouldn’t know what I’d be saying, but it’s a great rest I’ll have now and it’s time surely.’⁴

This is real tragedy and tragedy of a very high order, simple, direct, classical in concise appeal to sympathy. And as direct and as appealing are the concluding words of the play, still from Maurya.

¹ Gilbert Murray, *The Trojan Women*, p. 74.

² *Riders to the Sea*, p. 51. . . . ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 49.

'Michael has a clean burial in the far north by the grace of the Almighty God. Bartley will have a fine coffin out of the white boards and a deep grave surely. What more can we want than that? No man can be living for ever, and we must be satisfied.'

Riders to the Sea is undoubtedly the most tragic of the series of Irish plays, although the tragedy is wrought by simple means. But although none of the others can be called tragedies, there is sadness over them all. We nowhere meet the wild fun which Mr. Synge has described in some of his prose sketches. And yet the dialogue between that drunken old reprobate Mary Byrne and the priest is true comedy, although it is the natural spontaneous comedy of the moment, and neither the priest nor Mary intended it to be humorous at all. And in the last scene of the same play, *The Tinker's Wedding*, where the disreputable couple have been endeavouring by their Irish charm to persuade the same priest to marry them at reduced fees, and when they fail turn on him a violence which is comic, they have no thought of the fun of it all, only vengeance. And yet there is a quite Shakespearean humour over it all, and Shakespearean, too, is the close which leaves the priest master of the situation and the Tinker running from his Latin malediction with 'Run, run. Run for your lives,' on lips which had a moment before been declaring they had little need of the like of him.

II

When we turn to the poetry of Ireland we find ourselves confronted by much which may well be a surprise and a revelation. In the following pages no claim is made by the writer to original research. They are the outcome merely of a very real delight in the works by which such scholars as those whose names stand at the head of this article have made participation in a magnificent literature in an unknown tongue possible to the English reader. To neglect this possibility is to be ungrateful to the labours of these scholars.

At the outset we have frankly admitted that Ireland had nothing to haunt as the Scottish Ballads have haunted many generations of men. But the truth is, that Gaelic verse is for the most part too subtle, relying for its charm, as Dr. Hyde¹ tells us, 'less upon the intrinsic substance of the thought than the external elegance of the framework.' Or to put it in another way, the early Irish poets and their successors were, as Dr. Sigerson tells us in his *Bards of the Gael and Gall*,² not 'word-smiths' but 'word-jewellers, dealing with gems.' Not epics, not even ballads, but polished, highly finished gems are the little poems found in the Gaelic manuscripts. Dr. Sigerson claims for these early Irish poets that they introduced rhyme into European literature and that they

'made it the most refined and delicate instrument of artistic structure which the ingenuity of human intelligence could invent to charm, without fatiguing the ear, by the modulation of sound. They avoided in Gaelic the tinkle of repeated words regularly recurring at the ends of lines. They had echoes and half echoes of broad and slight vowels, and of consonants, differentiated into classes so that it was not necessary to repeat even the same letter, and these echoing sounds, now full, now slender—rising, falling, replying, swelling, dying, like the echoes at Killarney—come at varied intervals, not merely at the close, but within and between the lines. They constitute Word-music.'³

For a very full and delightful study of the subject we must refer our readers to the work from which these words are taken, and for a history of Irish literature to Dr. Douglas Hyde's volume to which we have also referred, and must glance briefly at the poems themselves. Dr. Sigerson in *Bards of the Gael and Gall* has placed his examples of Irish verse so far as possible in chronological order, though that chronology has to be obtained not by authenticated dates but by internal and other evidence.

¹ Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (T. Fisher Unwin. 1899), p. 275.

² *Bards of the Gael and Gall* (T. Fisher Unwin. 2nd edit. 1907), p. 22, Preface.

³ *Ibid.* p. 2.

In the three short poems in the first division of Dr. Sigerson's book, we are taken back to a prehistoric period, but even here we find surprising specimens of word-music, musical in its strangely elaborated verse structure, musical in what it brings before us. In the first poem the last word of each line rhymes with the first word of the next. The second poem given is rhymeless, but it is a vehement heaping up of epithets and ideas, quick with that exulting love of, and almost participation in, the life of nature which is still so essentially a mark of the Celt of to-day. Following on these poems of almost unknown date are a selection of poems of the so-called Cuchulainn period, a period which, roughly speaking for the purposes of classification, covered the first two centuries after Christ.

And here also we find true poetry and modernity of thought as in the two beautiful lines in Cuchulainn's lament for Ferdiad :

‘ Yesterday a Mountain he,
But a Shade to-day.’

When we come to Dr. Sigerson's Fionn Period of Song, two hundred years later than the Cuchulainn period, we again find the poets immersed in the heart of nature and recurring to its images with the care of those who not only live close to it, but see its beauties with that inward eye, 'which is the bliss of poesy.'

In the poem of 'Dawn of Summer,' a quick succession of delightful images is presented to us: swallows skim over the stream, bog-cotton waves, cuckoos call, the sleeping sea sighs. The little eight-lined poem of this period on Winter is a favourite with translators, for we find it both in Dr. Sigerson and in Dr. Kuno Meyer's delightful little volume of *Ancient Irish Poetry*, which sends us back to many another of his works with fresh delight. Both translations have caught the cold, the misery, of winter in an age when there was, indeed, highly cultivated versification, but not much material comfort. The grey geese in that sky charged with snow, the withered, shapeless

bracken in the hills, the sun so low on the horizon, and so few hours visible—winter, winter in all its gloom and its might, the winter of a thousand years ago is before us in a poem of only eight lines in all. The ‘Song of Winter,’ given by Dr. Kuno Meyer,¹ is resonant with the same chill and we feel that these old poets possess the art of creating atmosphere around their readers ; that they are ‘poets,’ makers, indeed. We shiver under the magic of this song of a winter of the tenth century : we expand in the triumph of its summer. In the poems of the Ossian age we find another delightful winter song where the ruffian soldier finds solace in recalling

‘Many men have I made still
Who this night are very chill.’²

This delight winter cold brings to his savage old heart.

To his fifth division, the Christian Dawn, Dr. Sigerson relegates St. Patrick’s well-known poem ‘The Guardsman’s Cry,’ or ‘The Deer’s Cry,’ as it is also called, which is perhaps the best known of all ancient Irish poems, though not always, alas, in the best of translations. But of these early Christian songs, surely the most beautiful is the ‘Hermit’s Song’ in Dr. Kuno Meyer’s little volume.³ The Irish hermits, like those on the Umbrian hillsides, seem to have lived not alone but in what has been called sociable loneliness. The hermit in his poem asks for twelve men around him, a pleasant church with its linen altar apparel, ‘a dwelling for God from heaven,’ and for husbandry he asks fragrant leeks, hens, salmon, trout and bees.

But for pathos, pathos deep as the Irish heart, such as finds a voice in this poetry through all the centuries, look at ‘The Deserted Home,’ a poem probably of the eleventh century, so Dr. Meyer tells us. It is translated by Dr. Sigerson with its verse and rhyme melodies : by Dr. Meyer without any attempt ‘at either rhythm or rhyme,’ which is the method he has adopted throughout his trans-

¹ *Ancient Irish Poetry*, p. 57.

² Sigerson, *Bards of Gael and Gall*, p. 146.

³ *Ancient Irish Poetry*, p. 30.

lations in this work.¹ Both methods are useful to those who cannot read the poem in the original ; and a comparison between the two shews how near the original both translators have come in their different ways. The poem which Dr. Sigerson calls 'The Ruined Nest,' Dr. Meyer 'The Deserted Home,' is worthy of study. A blackbird's nest is destroyed by ruthless 'cowherd lads,' and the author, with a refinement which we should have thought far in advance of the age, views the deed as only worthy of rough untamed natures. There is the note of pity for the mourning bird which Aeschylus also knew, of denunciation of the doers, and then there is the swift recoil to the poet's own grief which he shares with the wild heart of the woods, his endowment of that wild heart with feelings even as his own.

' My heart, O blackbird, burnt within !

* * * * *

No bird now comes from out thy house ;
Across its edge the nettle grows.'

Here indeed is a modern note—the man of the late centuries sees himself foreshadowed peeping into the mysterious world around him, seeing the nettle growing across the blackbird's home, and then turning with abrupt quickness to the things which are not seen :

' O Thou, the shaper of the world !
Uneven hands Thou layest on us :
Our fellows at our side are spared,
Their wives and children are alive.' ²

Indeed again and again the most casual student of these Irish 'lays will be struck by their modernity of thought, while, if we have read Dr. Sigerson aright, in their skilful handling of metre and of rhyme they may well surpass modern verse. Of this latter point however, we, who are not approaching the subject from the point of view of one who can go to the originals, must not pretend to judge, and therefore can only refer our readers to the books mentioned at the head of this article. But of the thought contained in the poems, the translations of which we owe to those whose

¹ *Ancient Irish Poetry*, Preface, p. xlii.

Ibid. p. 92

names we have quoted, we can, thanks to these translations, venture to judge, and as we have said, we are astonished at its modernity. Who, for instance, in these days of intelligence and culture could diagnose better than they have been diagnosed by the author of that triad of the early ninth century three marks of ill-breeding—long visits, staring, incessant questioning? Then how modern is the thought of the questions on the pilgrim to Rome—that pilgrimage will profit little if the pilgrim have not Him in his heart whom he seeks in the distant shrine:

‘Unless thou bring Him with thee, thou wilt not find.’

Beautiful, too, is the thought of the little poem on hospitality: that the house must not be closed against any man

‘Lest Christ close His house against me,’

and that the best you have must be given to the guest, for

‘Tis not the guest that will be without it
But Jesus, Mary’s Son.’

Dr. Kuno Meyer tells us very truly that the religious poetry of the ancient Irish gives us a ‘fascinating insight into the peculiar character of the early Irish Church which differed in so many ways from the rest of the Christian world.’¹ He tells us in the same place, what we have already noticed both in the Irish peasant of to-day and in this old poetry, that to ‘seek out and watch and love Nature, in its tiniest phenomena as in its grandest, was given to no people so early and so fully as to the Celt.’² And this love is shewn in rapid, impressionist word-painting, ‘the half-said thing to them is the dearest’; and is there not the truest poetry in these lines left out, this unheard music?

III

We have only hinted at the richness and the interest of the fragments of Irish poetry from the almost prehistoric times down to the twelfth century which remain to us.

¹ *Ancient Irish Poetry*, Preface, p. xii.

² *Ibid.*

From the twelfth century on to our own days, Irish poetry seems to have lost much of its charm, though we speak under correction and are willing to be proved mistaken in this estimate. But when we come to our own days, we find that there is a brilliant awakening of Irish verse. That verse is too extensive, too varied, to be criticized at the close of a necessarily brief sketch of a large subject. We can do little more than direct our readers' attention to it, if indeed it is not already known and loved by them as it deserves to be. The Preface to Mr. Stopford Brooke's *Treasury of Irish Poetry* is a very valuable study on that literature and its history. Mr. Stopford Brooke says truly that this later Irish poetry—poetry that is of Ireland, but chiefly in the English tongue—is marked by a pride which is

'different from English pride. It is the pride of the will unconquered by trouble, of courage to endure ill fate to the end, of the illimitable hope for the future which is a child of the imaginative powers. Nor is her national poetry of victory and joy, but of defeat and sorrow and hope.'¹

Here is the key to many a poem in both the collection made by Mr. Stopford Brooke in 1900, and the later Irish anthology, *The Dublin Book of Irish Verse*, edited by Mr. Cooke and published in 1909. Another note of this modern poetry is also referred to by Mr. Stopford Brooke. That poetry, he tells us,

'is nearly always Catholic and Catholic with the pathos, the patience, and the passion of persecution added to its religious fervour. English poetry, on the other hand, is a poetry of many forms of religions. . . . But it has no specialized, no isolated religious note, because persecution, such as existed in Ireland, did not deepen its music into a cry.'²

But indeed much of this poetry of a later Ireland is a cry against wrong, or a subtle knowledge of human grief, when it is not wild mirth such as that truly horrible poem 'The night before Larry was stretched' or Miss Emily

¹ *Treasury of Irish Poetry*, Introduction, p. xx.

² *Ibid.* p. xxi.

Lawless' delicately beautiful and yet rousingly wild poem on the return from Fontenoy, which begins :

‘ Mary mother, shield us ! Say what men are ye,
Sweeping past so swiftly on this morning sea ? ’

We venture to say that this, if once read, will be read many times as a tribute to the joyous disembodiment which it describes.

‘ “ Jesus save you, gentry ! Why are ye so white,
Sitting all so straight and still in this misty light ? ”
“ Nothing ails us, brother ; joyous souls are we
Sailing home together, on the morning sea.” ’

Of this younger school of Irish poetry, although we must frankly allow there is no Scott, no Burns, yet some merit attaches to Moore, who perhaps fills, or filled, the place they fill in Scotland. It is difficult to say how much of that merit is due to the melodies to which his somewhat evanescent verse is wedded and which he or his musical editor did much to spoil by the ‘ alteration of scales and characteristic intervals (such as the flat seventh) which,’ says Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, ‘ are the life and soul of Irish melodies.’¹ Mr. Edmund Gosse said with truth that ‘ eight or ten ’ of Moore’s songs and ballads ‘ defy the action of time and preserve their wild, undulating melody, their sound as of bells dying away in the distance.’ Among these perhaps most of us will place ‘ No, not mere welcome ’ and the yet finer ‘ At the mid hour of night.’ But ‘ Oh, ye dead,’ which curiously enough is not included in the selections from Moore in the *Treasury of Irish Verse*, strikes a more august note than anything else he has written, and is perhaps a proof that he might have reached and kept a higher level than he has done, but for that ‘ cossetting ’ by English society of which Mr. Stopford Brooke speaks in his criticism on Moore in that *Treasury*. He says very truly : ‘ It was a society which loved bric-à-brac, and Moore gave it bric-à-brac poetry of the best kind. Never was it better done ; and the verse had a melodious movement, as

¹ Quoted in Mr. Stopford Brooke’s *Treasury of Irish Poetry*, p. 42.

of high-bred and ignorant ladies dancing on enamelled meadows.'¹

This is delightful; but Moore did something more than write bric-à-brac verses.

'He did more for Ireland,' says Mr. Stopford Brooke, 'than we think. He made her music charm the world. He brought by his singing of the melodies (and though he had no power in his voice, he had a manner of singing which enchanted and thrilled his hearers), the wrongs and sorrows of Ireland into the ears and consideration of that class in society which had not listened to or cared for them before. It is not too much to say that Moore hastened Catholic emancipation by his melodies.'²

Here indeed was a proof of power, and after reading these words we perhaps wonder at, while yet acknowledging their truth, those other words in which the same author pronounces Moore to be 'thin.' It is true; and yet in the words of another Irish poet, Moore may be included among those who

'Built Nineveh with our sighing
And Babel itself with our mirth.'

To have helped such a measure as the Bill of 1829 was no mean achievement for a poet who still must not be placed among the first.

But this younger school of Irish song, of which Moore was no unworthy forerunner, is too full of promise to be summarily discussed. The reader who has Mr. Stopford Brooke's *Treasury of Irish Verse*, *The Dublin Book of Irish Verse*, or Mr. Yeats' *Anthology* on his shelves will hardly need to be told wherein the undoubted charm and power of this new school consist. It would be invidious indeed to say that it has left the modern English poetry far behind, but perhaps even that boast may be allowed to one who as a child was sung to sleep by Irish melodies, and will be discounted accordingly by yet kindly English critics.

¹ *Treasury of Irish Verse*, p. 36.

² *Ibid.* p. 38.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

The Inspiration of Prophecy. By G. C. JOYCE, D.D., Warden of St. Deiniol's, Hawarden. (London: H. Frowde. 1910.) 3s. 6d. net.

IT is somewhat difficult to review at all adequately this interesting and suggestive little book, for it raises questions of such vast importance and intricacy that a much greater space would be wanted for their discussion than can be allowed for this short notice.

The book contains the substance of some lectures given to the members of the Society of Sacred Study in the Dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor, and the author realizes that within such a narrow compass there could not be any pretence to completeness of treatment. Perhaps the treatment might have been somewhat more complete, had the style been somewhat less full. There is a continual tendency, due no doubt to the circumstances in which the lectures were delivered, to apologize for that which needs no apology. The author evidently fears lest some of his conclusions might be regarded as not merely revolutionary but even heretical by those to whom his remarks were first addressed. The perpetual recurrence of this apologetic strain somewhat mars an otherwise extremely stimulating book.

Dr. Joyce is quite right in thinking that the modern progress in psychological study demands a fresh consideration being given to the manner of prophetic inspiration. Perhaps the most distinctive features in his book are the discussions from a psychological standpoint of prophetic audition and prophetic vision. In this portion Dr. Joyce is specially interesting, but not always very convincing: he is in fact doing pioneer work, and at times does not seem very sure of his own ground.

Occasionally the observant may detect an inclination towards a false antithesis, the material being contrasted with the spiritual and the historical with the imaginary in such a way as to suggest that Dr. Joyce does not realize how arbitrary and artificial these distinctions may sometimes become. That, however, is extremely unlikely, for he shews that he is well acquainted with much modern literature on this and similar subjects. Yet sometimes we come across something very like a contradiction. Thus on page 92 we are told that 'the precision of details' points to

the fact that Zechariah is relating no vision, but using a form of allegory ; while on page 94 we are told that no one who has freed his mind from prejudice to revelation through vision can read the account of Isaiah's call without being impressed with the verisimilitude of the narrative. ' The notes of time and place have a *precision* not easily reconcileable with any view that casts suspicion upon the historicity of the incident,' and again ' it is remarkable how entirely consistent are all the *details*' ; and this, although on page 92 ' the precision of the details ' is considered to point in an opposite direction.

Dr. Joyce perhaps goes rather too far when he suggests that Isaiah would perhaps not have been a prophet at all if he had been without the capacity of seeing visions (in a literal sense). On the other hand he has some very sensible things to say in criticism of Dr. Robertson Smith's disparagement of trance, vision, and ecstasy as important features in the history of prophecy. The discussion of the visions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel are also worthy of close attention.

The last section of the book is devoted to a discussion of New Testament prophecy from a psychological standpoint ; and here, once more, every reader will be glad and grateful for an interesting contribution to a difficult study, though we are by no means certain whether the writer is justified in treating prophecy under the new dispensation as a phenomenon so easily and entirely comparable with the works of the literary prophets before Christ.

There are perhaps three directions in which criticism may be allowed as pointing out some ways in which a valuable book might be made of still greater value. In the first place Dr. Joyce frequently illustrates from modern times, but there is no real application to modern conditions. If we are to understand the work of the prophets we should endeavour in our mind's eye to see what part they would play in modern life. It is rather cheap at a distance of 2000 years to shew how obviously the prophets were in the right, while, at the time, it was no more obvious on which side lay the will of Jehovah than it is at the present day amid the welter of politics to choose out a path along which we can be certain ourselves, and convince others also, that the way and the will of the Lord lies. We hope that Dr. Joyce will reconsider the severity of his judgement on false prophets, for there is no more reason why these should be accounted, as he does account them, moral degenerates, than our own opponents in Church and State who from the most conscientious motives may do all in their power to limit our influence and thwart our reforms.

Secondly, a good deal of expansion is necessary in some directions. In a psychological treatment of prophecy Balaam should have certainly had a prominent place, while a reference to the earlier prophecies embedded in Isaiah would also be of no small value in bridging the gulf between the working and the writing prophets. No doubt these lectures were frequently followed by discussion, and there was a greater measure of fulness so attained than is observable in the lectures in their written form, where a good many obscure points still remain upon which light might be thrown and welcomed. Lastly, one cannot help feeling that no discussion on prophecy is really adequate which does not include a careful and reverent discussion on our Lord's place as a prophet. The whole matter is barely hinted at. It would of course be no easy matter to deal with so delicate and difficult a subject with equal thoroughness and recognition of inevitable limitations. But unless we are prepared to measure prophecy by His standard, we are not likely to attain to the true discrimination of what is permanent and of eternal value in the inspiration of prophecy.

Meanwhile we must congratulate those who heard these lectures on an intellectual treat which we would have been fain to share, and we may perhaps be also allowed to congratulate Dr. Joyce on his brave attempt to get behind the prophets and deal with some of those deep and fundamental problems which make the study of prophecy so fascinating and so illuminating a task.

The Transfiguration of Our Lord. By G. D. BARRY, B.D., Rector of Denver, Norfolk. (Longmans. 1911.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS short study of the Transfiguration seeks to shew that it was an objective, historical event which occupied an important place in the evolution of our Lord's life. Its historicity is guaranteed, among other things, by the fact that 'in all the Synoptists the setting is constant' (p. 13). The author discusses the reasons for the inclusion of Moses and Elijah in the scene and concludes that they came 'as bearing witness to the whole teaching of the Law and the Prophets concerning the expected Messiah' (p. 47). No doubt the important element in the Transfiguration is the meaning which our Lord intended it to convey to the three disciples, and the author argues that it was a 'specially designed preparation' for the Resurrection, since two of the three witnesses of the former were the primary

witnesses of the latter. But surely the more correct interpretation—on which Mr. Barry might well have laid greater stress—is that at a crisis in His Self-revelation, amidst the perplexity of His followers as to His true nature and mission, our Lord revealed to the three disciples something of the glory of His Real Being and also His superiority to the two main representatives of the Old Dispensation, of whose work as revealers of the Divine purposes His own Person was the consummation.

The Prayer before the Passion: A Study Exegetical and Practical of the Seventeenth Chapter of St. John's Gospel. By the Rev. JAMES STONE, D.D. (Chicago University Press. Cambridge University Press. 1911.) 4s. 6d. net.

WE are always glad to welcome theological studies from the American Church. The Church in Chicago has reason to be proud in that it possesses a theologian of distinction, and Dr. Stone's book, though it cannot be placed on a level with the 'Summa Theologiae' which Professor F. J. Hall is producing, gives evidence of thought and spirituality.

In the whole Anglican Communion there is a great and growing danger that Theological Colleges and Seminaries should turn out clergy trained to be excellent managers of boys' and men's clubs, keen economists, excellent men of affairs, but not theologians, not masters or even beginners of the spiritual life, not students in any sense of the word. Nowhere is this danger more pressing than in America. Such a book as the one before us is a welcome sign that there are clergy in the Far West who study Holy Scripture to good purpose.

Dr. Stone devotes a few preliminary pages to a summary of the evidences for the authenticity of St. John, but he wisely does not spend much time on this. His words on the 'evidence from the Christian Consciousness' are excellent and deserve to be pondered:

'In every line it [the Gospel] harmonizes with the consciousness of Christendom. The unlettered man of God, spelling out its wondrous words, or the scholarly believer reading them in their original language, finds them full of the truth he feels, and the love he desires. Practically, neither to the untaught man nor to his more learned fellow-disciple, do the questions of date or authorship matter much! It is the book itself, with its deep spiritual forces appealing to the soul; and his soul makes answer, as the child makes answer to the Father's call.'

Dr. Stone then gives us a study of this great chapter in three divisions, and his exposition we have found to be very reverent, and also fresh and suggestive. He says of Judas :

‘ Judas’s sin was of all sins the most dastardly and reprehensible, and, considering the Person against whom it was committed, is justly regarded by Christendom with unqualified abhorrence, but there is no reason for holding, as some have done, Judas to have been either abnormal or inhuman. He is neither the incarnation of the Devil nor the personification of the Satanic kingdom. There is nothing supernatural or subnatural about him. He was a man of like nature and passions as our own ; and sin, unresisted, worked in him, as under the same circumstances it works in all men, like poison, slowly and gradually, till it overcame him. That which he did at the close of our Lord’s ministry, would have been for him impossible at the time he was called to be with Him. Judas affords a terrible illustration of the process of sin in man. His will being out of harmony, Divine grace and opportunity for spiritual growth came to naught. It is not nearness to holy things, or even companionship with holy men, which sanctifies the individual, but holiness within. Judas turned from that holiness ; therefore sin prevailed, and held him captive.’

We do not think Dr. Stone’s comment on our Lord’s Prayer for Unity greatly enlightens the subject. We desire to do all we can in our degree to bring about that peace and unity which are in accordance with the will of God, but we do not think it will be effected save by a clear understanding of principles. It is this understanding which should be the special vocation of Anglicanism to establish and maintain, and it is a pity that there should be so much vagueness among ourselves as to the real Anglican position. This is in part due to that abandonment of the appeal to antiquity, which the Bishop of Birmingham so lately deplored, among some of the most prominent defenders of Catholicity.

‘ There is nothing in history,’ writes our author, ‘ or in the conditions of the present day which shows that ecclesiastical unity is essential to worship, to the preservation of the faith, to a devout and holy life, to works of benevolence, to social or moral reform, to the harmony of the State, the family or the home, to the preservation and distribution of Sacred Scriptures, or to the evangelization of the world.’

Can Dr. Stone really think the present state of Christendom is anything but deplorable ? Whatever may be said as to the decay of religion in the Latin races, it cannot be denied that in the Teutonic countries, where the Reformation has prevailed, Protestantism is on the high road to Unitarianism, if it has not yet

entirely arrived. Christianity is, as was said long ago, the life of an organized society in which a graduated body of ordained ministers is made the instrument of unity.

We welcome every evidence of the life of the Spirit in all Christian bodies, but the existence of innumerable sects of greater or less orthodoxy is hurtful, is a positive danger to the spiritual life of Christendom. This is our chief criticism of Dr. Stone. With most of the book we are in entire agreement, and we think it will help many to enter more deeply into the teaching and the spirit of the 'pearl of pearls,' the Gospel of the disciple whom Jesus loved.

The Ascended Christ : a Study in the Earliest Christian Teaching.

By H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (Macmillan. 1911.) 2s. 6d. net.

DR. SWETE'S book is a timely protest against the tendency to confine the study of our Lord's life within the bounds of His distinctively earthly activity. He appeals to the New Testament and to Christian experience as testifying to the fact that a positive, universal appropriation of the efficacy of Christ's work only became possible after His Manhood had been translated to a higher sphere, co-ordinate with the fulness of His Divinity. On this basis, Dr. Swete has developed the various aspects of our Lord's continuous post-Ascension activity, belief in which alone forms an adequate guarantee of faith in Him as the very Power of God always working for righteousness. The main part of the book—which discusses various phases of this activity—Christ as King, Priest, Prophet, Mediator, etc., is reverently and carefully done, but the treatment is conventional and the touch too heavy. Dr. Swete has, however, kept the good wine until last, in his admirable postscript (pp. 154–166), which defends the need for such a 'study of the work of the Ascended Christ.' He writes here with greater spontaneity and spiritual insight; and we are grateful to him for calling our attention to the elements necessarily involved in a full estimate of the never-ceasing work of the Master.

Messianic Interpretation, and other Studies. By R. J. KNOWLING, D.D., Canon of Durham and Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham. (S.P.C.K. 1911.) 3s.

DR. KNOWLING has here collected a series of papers dealing with matters of current theological interest. The first four

articles—‘Messianic Interpretation,’ ‘Recent Criticism in its relation to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity,’ ‘The Pauline Theology in relation to the records of Our Lord’s Life and Teaching,’ and ‘The Eschatology of St. Paul’—unite in vindicating for our Lord the position which Catholic Christianity has always assigned to Him, and in his discussions Dr. Knowling keeps a watchful eye on recent hostile criticism, to which he refers copiously and which he is ever at pains to rebut. The two remaining papers comprise a discussion of the medical language of St. Luke, and an account of the newly recovered treatise of St. Irenaeus. It is difficult to criticize the studies collectively. They are no doubt issued in order that they may fall into the hands of popular readers interested in theological discussion. But while their style is popular and free from technicalities, they are too short, and too overcrowded with side-references to current criticism to give the average reader quite the help he needs, unless he is familiar with some, at least, of the controversial literature with which, out of the store of his abundant learning, Dr. Knowling deals.

The Kingdom and the Messiah. By E. F. SCOTT, D.D. (St. Andr.), Professor of New Testament Literature in Queen’s University, Kingston, Canada. (T. and T. Clark. 1911.) 6s. net.

WE heartily commend the lucidity and sobriety of this essay, in which the author seeks to set in their correct relations the content of the Gospel message and its apocalyptic frame work. He does not minimize our Lord’s debt to Jewish Apocalyptic. On the contrary, it was the idiomatic language by which alone He could make Himself intelligible to His generation. Dr. Scott says some valuable things on the difficulty which our Lord experienced in adapting the great truths of which He became progressively conscious to their necessarily local setting. In brief, apocalyptic categories were essential *to*, but not the essentials of His teaching; and, in adopting them, our Lord raised them to a higher plane, which served to elicit their permanent value. Dr. Scott concludes that the import of our Lord’s use of the term ‘Son of Man’ is futuristic; ‘it served to remind men that they should think of Him, not as He was, but as He would be hereafter’ (p. 205). He also emphasizes the importance of the conception of the ‘Suffering Servant’ in shaping our Lord’s teaching about His Personal

Mission. 'It enabled Him to transform the popular conception of the Messiah, and so to assimilate the ancient hope to His own sense of His vocation' (p. 223). Again, the later conception of 'The Church' has modified the original presentation of 'The Kingdom.' To St. Paul, for example, 'The Church as a visible community is the heavenly order realizing itself on earth' (p. 105). But this is a development; for our Lord adopted the traditional view that the Kingdom was still in the future and would 'break in suddenly by the intervention of God'—though He made this vital addition that it was, at the same time, 'so near at hand that its power could be felt already' (p. 111). Dr. Scott handles the various problems with easy skill, and, in developing a theme that is susceptible of endless variations, strikes the essential notes clearly.

Confirmation in the Apostolic Age. By FREDERICK HENRY CHASE, D.D., Bishop of Ely. (Macmillan. 1909.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE Bishop of Ely in this book cites the Greek text of all the passages in the New Testament which, in his judgement, refer to Confirmation, and comments on them. When his name is remembered, it is unnecessary to say that the comments are marked by careful and accurate and critical scholarship. There is also some general discussion of Confirmation, and there are some useful statements on particular points. In a separate note the Bishop treats of the meaning of the anarthrous 'Pneuma,' 'Pneuma Hagion,' and we are glad to observe his 'conclusion that the anarthrous *πνεῦμα*, *πνεῦμα ἄγιον*, is capable of expressing clearly and definitely the Holy Spirit in the full personal sense.' It is a happiness, also, to notice that he calls Confirmation a Sacrament, and states clearly that 'the renewal of the Baptismal vows' 'is an accident of the rite, appropriate only in the case of those whose Confirmation is separated from their Baptism by an interval of time.' His position is more questionable when he suggests that 2 Timothy i 6, 7 refers to Confirmation not Ordination, and follows Bishop Ellicott (*in loco*) and Dr. Hort (*The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 214, 215) in interpreting 1 Timothy v 22 not of Ordination, but of Absolution.

Miracles and the New Testament. By J. M. THOMPSON, M.A. (Arnold. 1911.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS little book consists of two parts. The author first examines critically the evidence of the Gospels for the miracles of our

Lord, and comes to the conclusion that when this evidence is sifted, due regard being paid to the inter-relations of the Synoptic Gospels, it appears that the original events underlying the evangelical tradition need not necessarily have been miraculous or out of the ordinary course of nature. With a good deal that Mr. Thompson says under this head, most educated men will agree. We cannot be sure that, if we knew all the circumstances, we should find it necessary to postulate 'miracle' to explain such works of mercy as the healing of the demoniacs or of some sick people who found health in obedience to the Lord's master-words. This has often been said before by scholars of repute, and we do not find fault with Mr. Thompson for saying it again. But it is going much further, and going beyond the evidence as we read it, to say that *all* the miracle stories of the Gospels can be thus explained, while the historical value of the Gospels is preserved in any intelligible sense. Mr. Thompson is not successful, we think, in his effort to eliminate miracles from the Gospel story as a whole. If his methods are to be trusted, the Gospels cease to give us a coherent narrative, and, as the author of *Ecce Homo* (who was not trammelled by the fetters of orthodoxy) put it, the central Figure becomes as mythical as Hercules. Mr. Thompson is in too great a hurry, and his reconstructions of the Gospel tradition are to us quite unconvincing.

In particular, attention must be called to Mr. Thompson's explicit rejection of the Church's belief in the bodily Resurrection of our Lord and of His Birth from a Virgin Mother. We do not think that the historical evidence for the last mentioned article of the Creed is, or could be, from the nature of the case, equal in scientific precision to that for the former. The Virgin Birth must depend, for non-theological science, upon the witness of the Virgin Mother and of him who called her wise, and this witness has only come down to us indirectly and at second-hand. Were it not fortified by the verdict of the ancient Church still inspired by the breath of Pentecost, and above all by the wonderful career and still more wonderful Personality of the Child, the manner of whose birth is in question, it might not be easy to believe. But we have to read the Nativity narratives in the light of the Resurrection narratives and with the reverence due to the Life of Christ. So read, it presents no special difficulty of credence. We do not attempt in a few words to summarize the evidence for our Lord's Resurrection. It has not persuaded Mr. Thompson, but it has persuaded many

other scholars quite as competent as he, and less embarrassed by the *a priori* prejudice against the miraculous in history, which he betrays on every page.

The second part of Mr. Thompson's essay provides a very brief sketch of the theological position which he thinks may be adopted by a Christian—that is, one who would fain follow and imitate Christ—who cannot repeat *ex animo* 'Born of the Virgin Mary . . . rose again the third day from the dead.' It is necessary to say plainly that Mr. Thompson approaches this large undertaking with quite insufficient equipment of knowledge, and with a seeming incapacity for understanding the attitude of instructed Christian scholarship towards miracles. 'The believer in miracles makes the double mistake of looking for God, not in the normal event, but in the abnormal; and not in the agency, but in the act.' We assure Mr. Thompson that he is under a serious misapprehension. No intelligent believer in miracles denies that God is present in the ordinary course of nature and of history. That negation is no part of the Catholic Faith. But the Christian theologian, while he finds God 'in the normal event,' is also prepared to find Him in what is abnormal, and believes that the abnormal may, if He so please it, be the channel of His grace. Further, the extravagant paradox that 'the rejection of the Gospel miracles has always been implicit in orthodox Christology' betrays a somewhat loose conception of what orthodox Christology is. 'The hypothesis of the non-miraculousness of Christ is an extension of the belief in His humanity. It suggests . . . that a mind which does not share natural limitations is not a human mind, and that a personality with the power to work miracles is not a human personality.' Certainly this suggestion is obvious. But has it occurred to Mr. Thompson that to speak of the 'human personality' of Christ is *not* 'orthodox Christology'? The core of the ancient Christology of the Church is that the seat of our Lord's Personality is in His Divine nature, and that He cannot be described without heresy as 'a human personality.' We are not without hope that Mr. Thompson may reconsider the position which he has, as we think, imprudently taken up. We are confident, although the reviewer does not know anything of him except what may be gathered from his book, that he desires to retain the faith of the Christian Church and to explain it, honestly and intelligently, to the pupils who look up to him as Dean of Divinity at Magdalen College. He has done solid work (that is clear) in the field of Synoptic criticism.

But that does not qualify a man for rewriting the Christian Creeds. The Creeds lose their vitality if Christ were not unique, if God dwelt in Him only in greater degree than in other good men. The appeal of the Gospel—its graces, its hopes, its benediction—cannot continue to sway the minds of men, if Christ be God only for faith and not for history.

II.—PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND APOLOGETICS.

The Christian Doctrine of God. By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE, D.D., Professor in Colgate University, U.S.A. (T. and T. Clark. 1909.) 10s. 6d.

DR. CLARKE describes the object of this volume of the *International Theological Library* as not 'to search for God, but rather to report' 'what the Christian faith testifies concerning Him.' In pursuance of his object he has made it his 'sole endeavour' 'to set forth the Christian doctrine of God for the present day: not the doctrine of the past, or of the future, but the thought of God that we may now entertain, if we follow the leading of Jesus Christ the revealer.' The method which Dr. Clarke has adopted leads to the result that 'no report of the literature of the subject will be found upon these pages, nor any quotation of other men's work, nor any controversy.' In other words, he has taken as his task to set forth what he believes to be the message of our Lord about God to the present day, in a positive form without reference to other ways of presenting it. Such a method has obvious disadvantages, on which it is unnecessary to dwell; but there is certainly a gain in freshness and vigour, and it is probable that there is need of theological books written on this plan as well as those which take account of historical theology. We cannot always agree with what Dr. Clarke says. For instance, when he writes, 'at present, amid the more clear-cut conceptions of personality that are current now, to speak and sing of "God in three Persons" is to give distinct encouragement to tritheistic belief,' he appears to forget that there is a strong tendency to regard the element of distinctness and separateness in personality as less than some time ago it was usually thought to be; in his insistence on the 'oneness' of God, he is sometimes apt to allow insufficient influence to the 'threeness,' as when he deprecates 'the idea of an internally social God, having within Himself an interchange of love,' in view of a difficulty in reconciling it 'with an intelligible unity'; and in the positiveness of his

assertion that sin and suffering were inevitable from the first he does not allow for our incapacity to estimate what the history of the human race might have been in circumstances other than those which have actually occurred. But, though the book is open to criticism in these and other respects, it calls for careful consideration from those abler students of theology who are able to grapple with its elaborateness and difficulty.

Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité. Par JULES LEBRETON, Professeur d'Histoire des Origines Chrétiennes à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Paris : Beauchesne. 1910.) 8 fr.

WE welcome this book as a scholarly and helpful contribution towards the study of a difficult and complex problem. If it be true that the next great attack upon Christianity will centre round the Trinitarian dogma, then constructive work such as we find in this volume will be much needed.

To what source or sources are we to look for the origin of the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity? Are we to go to Hellenism and Alexandrianism for the germs of thought out of which later sprang the fully developed Trinitarian dogma? Is it a creation of Pauline or Johannine Theology? Is it the invention of converted Christians who endeavoured to reconcile their new religion with the philosophical systems in which they had been trained? M. Lebreton is firmly convinced that the Christian faith in the Doctrine of the Trinity owes its origin not to philosophical speculations whether Jewish or Greek, nor is it due to the influence of Hellenism upon Christianity, but it is born of a fact—a supreme fact of Revelation, and centres in a Person. In Jesus Christ, in His Person, in what He was, in what was revealed in Him, by Him and through Him as the result of His work, lies the origin, the genesis, and the justification for the Christian faith in the Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity and the Unity in Trinity.

The author divides his work into three parts, the first two of which are in the nature of preliminary studies of pre-Christian conceptions and philosophical speculations—Jewish and Greek—preparatory to a full discussion as to the origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity as found in the New Testament Revelation. Professor Lebreton's object is not polemical, but by constructive argument and a critical examination of Hellenism, Alexandrianism, Jewish Theology both of the Old Testament and also of the Post-Canonical Jewish Literature, etc., he demonstrates the fundamental cleavage which divides these latter from the

Christian dogma, and shews that whilst, at first sight, there might seem to be striking points of contact between Hellenism, Alexandrianism, etc., on the one hand and Christianity on the other with reference to Trinitarian conceptions and phraseology, yet a closer and more careful study of both does but reveal radical and essential differences, whilst the resemblances are superficial ; and, further, that far from these resemblances and foreshadowings of the Trinitarian dogma detracting from the unique character of the Christian Revelation, they do but serve to enhance it by comparison and contrast. As the writer says in the course of his summing up an examination of pagan mythologies and Greek philosophical speculations—

‘Quand, par une laborieuse analyse, nous sommes arrivés à reconstituer les principales théories religieuses qui pouvaient entrer en contact avec le dogme chrétien de la Trinité, nous constatons entre ces deux ensembles de conceptions un contraste si profond, que nous ne concevons guère la possibilité d'une équivoque et, beaucoup moins encore, d'un compromis. Quel rapport entre le Verbe, Fils de Dieu, et ce logos, force et loi du monde, qui est en chacun de nous germe de vie, principe de pensée et loi morale ? Comment confondre le Saint-Esprit, le Paraclet, avec cet air enflammé qui pénètre tous les êtres, qui les enserre et qui les anime ?’

But is the case any different when we pass to the Old Testament Theology and the circle of ideas reflected in Post-Canonical Jewish Literature ? ‘Si c'est dans les milieux helléniques que la théologie chrétienne s'est développée, c'est du Judaïsme que le Christianisme est né.’ It seems to us that we shall not be destroying the uniqueness of the Christian Revelation when we recognize that Jewish Theology, in the period which intervened between the Old and New Testaments, had made some progress towards a Trinitarian conception of God. In the circle of ideas centring round the conceptions of the ‘Wisdom of God,’ ‘the Shekinah,’ ‘the Memra’ of the Targums, the ‘Logos doctrine’ of Philo and the Alexandrian school, and the Messianic idea, together with the remarkable development of Angelology as reflected in later Jewish Theology, we see how far Judaism had advanced from the anthropomorphic conceptions of God so crudely expressed in the earlier Old Testament writings ; and all this development of thought, even though its logical issue were a philosophical conception of an Arian Christ, yet may legitimately be regarded as of the nature of a ‘preparation’ for the coming of the New Testament fuller Revelation of the Divine Reality,

of which these Jewish conceptions were foreshadowings, however vague and imperfect.

Wherein, then, lies the value and significance of these pre-Christian speculations and modes of thought from the point of view of the historian of the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity?

It seems to us that whilst we shall look in vain in that direction for the origin of the Trinitarian dogma, yet these speculations played no unimportant part in preparing men's minds for the fuller Revelation contained in the New Testament. Whilst it is true that only the Incarnation could translate such abstract philosophical speculations into the concrete reality of Divine Truth revealed in the Person of Jesus Christ, yet we must recognize that these current philosophical terms offered to newly converted Christians a phraseology as a vehicle of expression for their new belief in a dogma which itself contained elements radically and essentially antagonistic to the ideas embodied in the current philosophical terms which they employed to express it. No conceivable development of the Philonian doctrine of the Logos, for example, could ever have changed that abstract philosophical conception into the concrete Divine reality embodied in the Johannine Theology. We cannot imagine Philo, in spite of all the epithets he applies to his Logos, ever reaching the fulness of signification contained in the simple statement of fact 'And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us.' It was the fact of the Person of Christ which enabled St. John to take this philosophical term in current use and to fill it with a new and vital significance as applied to the Incarnate Word of God, a significance which it could never have derived from any fresh developments in the philosophical system from which the Apostle borrowed it.

No doubt Christ was the determining factor in shaping the religious beliefs of His followers, and the Christian experience 'in Christ' enabled heathen polytheists and Jewish monotheists to accept the Trinitarian Revelation under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But if the question be asked as to how the thoughtful Christians of the early Church, and especially educated men like St. Paul who had been trained in the Schools of Philosophy, reconciled the Divinity of Christ with the Unity of God, we are inclined to think that whilst they themselves recognized the radical antagonism existing between the essential elements of their Faith and the philosophical conceptions in which they had been trained, yet at the same time these latter had been a real help in preparing their minds to enable them to pass easily from a

rigid or fluid monotheism to the fuller Revelation of God contained in the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity.

We should like to have examined Professor Lebreton's book more in detail, but perhaps we have indicated sufficiently the nature of the subjects with which he deals, and we shall look forward with interest to the further volume he promises us dealing with the study of the Trinitarian dogma in the Ante-Nicene and Fourth Century Fathers.

Consciousness of God. Two Lectures on the Antecedents of Revelation. By T. A. LACEY, M.A., Chaplain of the London Diocesan Penitentiary, Highgate. (Mowbray. 1909.) 1s. net.

MR. LACEY's little book is marked by the ability and subtlety of thought which we expect to find in his writings. The lectures on which it is based may well have been of great interest and use to many of those at the University of Cambridge to whom they were addressed, though it may be doubted whether the reproduction is as well suited to readers of a popular series like 'The English Churchman's Library,' in which the book forms a volume. There is a point in it at which the reader may be disposed to fear that in his assertion of the Immanence of God Mr. Lacey has left no room for the co-ordinate truth of Transcendence. On reading further, the fear is dispelled. May not this be an indication that the difference between the 'certain theologian,' who said in Mr. Lacey's presence that 'revelation is not an extension of our natural knowledge,' and Mr. Lacey, in his opinion that 'revelation is nothing else,' might, on adequate investigation, prove to be less complete than Mr. Lacey thinks? A characteristic feature of the book is the insistence, in regard to the problem of pain in the universe and man, on the difference made in the moral character behind the infliction of suffering by the end which is in view, and the striking illustration from the iniquitous cruelty of a surgical operation performed for the amusement of the King of Oudh, and the tender pity in the same operation when performed to save life or health.

Divine Transcendence and its Reflection in Religious Authority. An Essay. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, D.D. (Macmillan. 1911.) 6s.

DR. ILLINGWORTH is gradually covering the field of the great outstanding problems in the philosophy of religion, and in

some respects his latest work, besides its opportune arrival, is exceptionally able. There is scarcely any other writer who can give so intelligible and satisfactory expression to the truths held in common by idealists of all ages, and present them in such a way that their pragmatic value is no less manifest than their inherent reasonableness. Dr. Illingworth's chapters on 'Relative and Absolute Being' and 'The Theistic Arguments' have that peculiarly luminous quality which, in such a connexion, is possible only when the character of the writing is the adequate external manifestation of the character of the thought behind. Thus his argument that the existence of the absolute is not merely a possible conception attainable through the indefinite amplification of the finite, but is involved, as a necessary condition, in the very act of thinking of finite existences, is no more than a statement of that which all idealists since Plato have believed, carefully rendered to meet Kant's objection to passing from a conception to the assertion of the necessary correspondence of reality with that conception ; but he states it in such a way as to make it not only plausible, but coercive. Nor is he less convincing when he shews as against Hartmann and Schopenhauer that if the absolute is to include mind and will at all, it is wholly meaningless to predicate impersonality in the same connexion. Dr. Illingworth handles the problem of personality with great ability, though after shewing that the not-self is not a necessary correlate of the self, even where we are concerned, but may through incorporation go to build up a richer personality, it is somewhat misleading to say afterwards, even if in a different context, that whatever man does he cannot alter his essential personality. The apparent discrepancy here illustrates the fact that Dr. Illingworth has not quite overcome the difficulty of conceiving of God as the perfect Person for whom there is no essential not-self, and as One who is independent of the universe and does not need it for His Self-realization.

But it is the latter part of the book which is more questionable, where the authority of the Church, the Creed, the Sacraments, and the Bible is under survey. The reason for this lies in a certain inadequacy in the connecting chapter, that on 'Transcendence and Authority.' We have nothing but praise for the writer's clear exposition of the witness which the imperative of conscience bears to our contact with a transcendent and absolute authority, which can be nothing else than the will of God. The moral sense does in this way postulate a religious Authority. Nor do we question the fact that if there has been a revelation

from God to man such as Christians believe, God's authority as well as His other attributes must be reproduced among those who have become heirs to that revelation. The difficulties begin when Christians, as has historically been the case, seem led by their moral sense to repudiate institutions and rites which have had the support of all constituted authority in the Church at the time. How far, that is, is the Church at any time its own authority from which there can be no appeal? Again, authority of every kind, and not least religious authority, always tends to favour the traditional and the static in preference to the experimental and the dynamic. With much that Dr. Illingworth writes concerning the need and the beauty of the obedient temper we are in entire sympathy. But the spirit of free criticism has its rightful place also within the Church, so that it must play around the institutions and practice and life of the Church as well as around its intellectual forms of expression. Even though we grant that the best criterion of a particular mode of life or organization is its survival-value, and we do not doubt that episcopacy and the sacraments possess this in the highest possible degree, we cannot expect men, and consequently do not desire men, to accept the theory that 'whatever is, is best' in such a way that they will allow no place for development and evolution where organized religion is concerned.

Such problems as these in connexion with the exercise of religious authority Dr. Illingworth seems to us to have left unduly on one side. But within the limits he has set himself he has much of value to say on the Church, the Creed, the Sacraments, and the Bible. His analysis of the impossibility of separating the Christian Creed from the Christian Life, of which it is the necessary intellectual condition, is admirable; so is his insight into the prophetic character of the whole of the Old Testament and of the history of Israel. Of the New Testament we think it truer to say that both it and the Church were the products of the Gospel than that the New Testament was written by the Church. The latter phrase imports an official element into that which was the breaking through into writing of a newly created religious experience. Dr. Illingworth has so clear a sense of the necessarily moral basis of all authority, and brings this out so well in his chapter on 'The Christian Life under Authority,' that we regret any statement which may appear to imply less exalted notions. Without depreciating the authority which the New Testament writings derive from their endorsement by the Church, that authority is secondary, not

primary. The primary authority of the New Testament is, in Dr. Illingworth's own words, 'the authority of its own spiritual supremacy.'

But despite criticisms, which seem to us necessary, Dr. Illingworth has again given freely of his judgement and insight. He has a message alike for those who have rested content with purely formal ideas of authority, and for those to whom authority is an idea with which the true Christian will have as little to do as possible.

The Coming of Evolution. The Story of a great Revolution in Science. By JOHN W. JUDD, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S. 'Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.' (Cambridge University Press. 1910.) 1s.

IN this well-printed little volume Professor Judd has given a very readable account of the stages by which the theory of Evolution, known from remote antiquity as an interesting speculation, became during the latter half of the nineteenth century the received doctrine of scientific men. A notable feature in Professor Judd's book is the account he gives of the progress of evolutionary opinion as applied to the history of the earth in its inorganic aspect. The 'uniformitarian' succession from Hutton and Playfair to Scrope and Lyell is well brought out, and stress is justly laid on the indebtedness of both Darwin and Huxley to the first edition of Lyell's *Principles of Geology*. That Lyell was at an early period of his career convinced of the gradual introduction of new species is beyond doubt; that he believed at the time of the publication of the *Principles* in any kind of derivation by descent is not so clear. It assuredly does not appear from the passages quoted by the present author, who also betrays a curious misapprehension in attributing to Lyell a foreshadowing of Bates' theory of 'mimicry.' But nothing is more certain than that Evolution was 'in the air' during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and that many scientific folk were casting about for an explanation of the method. In the following decade Darwin and Wallace, by the discovery of the principle of Selection, supplied the key that was wanting; and the general acceptance of the doctrine of Evolution was thenceforth only a question of time. The author might, perhaps, have done more justice to Herbert Spencer; a single somewhat slighting reference is the only mention we find of one who was at least an important pioneer. A conclusion

which emerges very distinctly from the present narrative is the fact that such opposition as was encountered by Lyell's geological and Darwin's biological innovations was quite as much scientific as theological. It is often overlooked that the theological critics simply reflected the current scientific opinion of their day. The moral is obvious and needs no pointing.

In spite of a few minor inaccuracies—Ternate, for example, is not in Celebes—Professor Judd's highly interesting manual may be cordially recommended to those readers who wish to obtain in small compass a sympathetic and trustworthy account of the establishment of a theory which, as the author says, has not only come to be the accepted creed of working naturalists, but has also profoundly affected thought and language in every branch of human enterprise.

The Faith of an Evolutionist. By THEOBALD A. PALM, M.A., M.D. (London: H. R. Allenson, Ltd.) 2s. 6d.

'GIVE your decision boldly, but beware of adding your reasons. The former will probably be right; the latter will certainly be wrong.' The well-known advice to this effect given by the great Lord Mansfield to a young man suddenly called, without experience, to the exercise of judicial functions, might with advantage be borne in mind by many Christian apologists. With the general drift and main conclusions of Dr. Palm's book it is impossible not to sympathize, and to many of his lines of argument a cordial assent may be given. But the crudities manifested here and there in the author's statements of dogma, both religious and scientific, are a serious drawback to the value of the work, and must give one pause before recommending it to the class of readers for whom it is evidently intended. What, for example, is the value of a conception of Catholicity which, in the author's words, 'is not limited by any polity or organization,' and 'extends the right hand of fellowship to many a heretic'? Again, it is one thing to realize with St. Paul that 'where sin abounded grace did much more abound,' and quite another to maintain that 'sin is not merely relative to the stage of development; it is seen as a fact in human history to be itself contributory to that development, a necessary step in the onward progress.' It does not need much penetration to discover that in his dealing with the subject of sin the author confuses two ideas which are essentially distinct. The most

conspicuous shortcomings on the scientific side are contained in the chapter on Evolution and Character, throughout which it is uncritically assumed that mental modifications acquired during the lifetime of the individual may be transmitted by inheritance to the offspring. No proof of this is given, and it would, of course, be denied by a large number of scientists. Many of Dr. Palm's ethical precepts are thoroughly sound, and it is much to be regretted that they are not based, as they might have been, on a surer scientific foundation. It has been an ungrateful task to draw attention to the author's deficiencies, for his work is straightforward, courageous, and entirely well-intentioned. Moreover, he almost disarms criticism by the modesty of his preface. But the book should not be put into the hands of an inquirer without a warning that it is not to be relied on in every detail, though it may serve as a 'first approximation' towards the solution of a complicated and difficult problem.

Progressive Revelation. Lectures to Clergy given in St. Asaph Cathedral, June 1910. By S. A. ALEXANDER, M.A., Canon and Treasurer of St. Paul's. (John Murray. 1910.) 2s. 6d.

THESE addresses, three in number, deal respectively with Revelation in the Bible, Revelation in History, and Revelation to-day. They draw attention, in clear and eloquent language, to the fact, which few will dispute, that in the spheres of history, of intellect and of morals, God's revelation of Himself has been a gradual process. Throughout the successive stages of the Divine dealings with the human family, man has been led to an ever clearer perception of the Divine nature and attributes, and to a juster sense of his own ethical obligations. The keynote of the book is the utterance of our Lord: 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now,' coupled with the promise: 'Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth.' We live, as the author reminds us, in the age of the Spirit: 'that is the cardinal fact about the Church's life.' This leads inevitably to the thorny question of the development of doctrine, and opens fields, as the lecturer anticipates at the outset, in which there will be large room for difference of opinion. Towards the end of his three discourses, Canon Alexander addresses himself to the practical question, how are we to judge whether development is, or is not, in accordance with the truth? There is an essential and invariable

deposit ; how are we to recognize it ? ' We must believe,' he says, ' that the Church has the gift of discerning whether a doctrine is in accordance with the truth, and that this gift belongs to it through the grace of the Holy Spirit.' But a test is needed. ' As the long history of the Church unfolds itself, it is by the Mind of Christ that we are to judge the truth and value of the things revealed. That only will be true and important which is in continuity with the Mind of Christ, which is akin to His spirit.' It is, perhaps, not difficult to detect here some slight inconsistency. The gift of discernment allowed to the Church in the former passage appears in the latter to be handed over to the private judgement. And the Lecturer, as we have seen, has not disguised from himself that unanimity is not to be expected in the application of his test. In fact, his own use of it in a concrete instance (that of the *Quicunque vult*) will not command unlimited assent. But if the practical bearing of the Lectures is in some respects open to criticism, there can be no question that in the course as a whole the author has given expression to many thoughts of great value and importance in striking language and a spirit of conspicuous earnestness and devotion.

Reason and Belief. By SIR OLIVER LODGE. (Methuen. 1910.)
3s. 6d. net.

THE reader who should expect to find in these discourses to teachers by the Principal of the University of Birmingham a book worthy to stand by the side of the late Master of Balliol's ' Lay Sermons ' as a storehouse of the ripe fruits of deep and thorough thinking on the great problems of philosophy and religion would be greatly disappointed. But one who pitches his expectations lower, who will pardon some looseness of style, much looseness of thought, an uncritical use of material, a deficiency in humour, a more authoritative air than is quite justified by the weightiness of the things said with it (all faults common enough in preachers), in consideration of greater matters, such as obvious personal sincerity, an earnest desire to do good, an open-minded readiness to learn from all quarters, a genuine enthusiasm for whatever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report, will not go away altogether dissatisfied. He will also find some sensible, if not very striking, observations on the teaching of the Old Testament to children ; and as Sir Oliver Lodge is, like the crew that hunted the Snark,

fond of quotations, and as his quotations are usually from good authors, he will be reminded of much excellent poetry. He will moreover have the amusement of guessing what the following sentence can mean : ' There are three main adventures in human life, birth, death, marriage. *Comparatively few escape all three.*' The italics are ours.

III.—COMPARATIVE RELIGION AND FOLKLORE.

The Idea of God in Early Religions. By F. B. JEVONS, Litt.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Durham. 'Cambridge Manuals of Literature and Science.' (Cambridge University Press: 1910.) 1s.

PROFESSOR JEVONS, like Montesquieu, might very well say to the reader of this little volume, What will take you a couple of hours to read, took me twenty years to think out. In it we have the review of a momentous phase of human development offered by one who has devoted prolonged studies to voluminous records and multifarious opinions, and now presents the result with singular success both as to lucidity and impressiveness. In order to accomplish this within so small a compass Dr. Jevons foregoes references to authorities, and only very occasionally indulges in confirmatory illustrations. A brief list of books for the reader's use is offered, but otherwise he must trust himself to the author's guidance, a trust which Dr. Jevons' previous contributions to the subject fully entitle him to presume.

From so condensed a survey as this we can only select a few points for notice. First, there is no doubt that Dr. Jevons is greatly helped by the attention he has given to the nature of evolutionary process as shewn in the admirable study, *Evolution*, published by him ten years ago. In application to the sphere of religious ideas we no longer find attempts to force the course of changes into a single line. From some root or principle an idea starts out and runs through changes, but from that same root another idea, slightly different, also springs forth and runs its own course. As Bergson—quoted by Dr. Jevons—puts it, the comparison is not with a single shot from a cannon but with a shell which bursts into fragments and disperses its contents along several lines. For example, monotheism is not necessarily a development of polytheism, but very frequently a parallel line of movement. The relief from old perplexities which this change has caused is very great.

Another welcome feature is the abundant supply of careful discriminations between allied ideas: as between fetish and idol; magic and religion; spell and prayer. They are not offered as final and everywhere accepted; but we may take it that what we have here we may use with some confidence that we shall be holding valuable clues in exploring the intricacies of comparative religion. A marked feature of Dr. Jevons' treatment is his reference to social consciousness as a source of differentiation: e.g. a fetish as of private concern only, an idol as an object of tribal regard; and magic is similarly differentiated from religion. There is a careful exposition of mythology: it is regarded as not a cause of beliefs in gods, but produced by reflexion upon them; and as itself an endeavour to give reasons for things by assigning them to the gods already believed in. Worship is thoroughly investigated, and a higher degree of influence assigned to it than to mythology. In worship, the most important feature is considered to be sacrifice, whether in the gift form or the communion form, the latter being held to be the more important of the two. As the sense of sin is usually the first incitement to personal approach to the god, so it is, within limits, with the community. But Dr. Jevons sees that it could not be under the influence of unmitigated fear that men desired to draw near. There was also a sorrow for having given offence, and a desire for reconciliation.

The reader should not miss careful consideration of Dr. Jevons' expression of his position as to the reality of the object of religion. It is so easy to regard such a movement as is here expounded as purely a movement within the human mind, that it is no wonder that many people regard all religious history as purely subjective. We cannot enter upon this now, but strongly recommend the careful study of Dr. Jevons' position (see pp. 64 and 159). One passage states it so well that we cannot refrain from transcribing it:

' If we choose to speak of this unfolding or disclosure as Evolution, the process, which the history of religion undertakes to set forth, will be the Evolution of the idea of God. But, in that case, the process which we designate by the name of Evolution, will be a process of disclosure and revelation. Disclosure implies that there is something to disclose; revelation, that there is something to be revealed to the common consciousness—the presence of the God-head, of Divine personality.'

Another deep note pervades the whole treatment, the fine humanism of the writer. There is always present a deep respect

for mankind : Dr. Jevons believes that amidst such irrationality there has been a working of reason ; amidst many ignoble and many ferocious passions there has been operative a fund of gentler and genial emotions in man's endeavours to bring religion into life. Self-regard has not been so prominent as social welfare, and, on the whole, man has striven to raise both himself and his community by his recourse to the powers which he has regarded as divine.

Totemism and Exogamy. By J. G. FRAZER. 4 vols. (Macmillan. 1910.) 50s. net.

THE reaction against the importance that has been ascribed to totemism as a factor in the early history of religion probably reaches its limit in this work. Dr. Frazer has now freed himself entirely in this regard from the influence of Robertson Smith : 'It is an error,' he says, 'to speak of true totemism as a religion.' Dr. Frazer does not explain what he means exactly by 'true' totemism, but the epithet evidently has its value as indicating the way in which he settles the question of the religious importance of totemism. However, he goes on, 'as I fell into that error when I first wrote on the subject, it is incumbent on me to confess my mistake, and to warn my readers against repeating it.' In Australia, indeed, we learn later on, there are beliefs or practices 'which might easily grow into a regular propitiation or worship of the totem' ; but, as Dr. Frazer holds, in variance with some other students of Australian rites, that the practices have not reached that stage of development, he may consistently also hold that 'true' totemism is found in Australia. When, however, he admits that in Melanesia and Polynesia totemism does develop into rudimentary religion, the inference seems to be either that the totemism of Melanesia and Polynesia is not 'true' totemism—an inference which anthropologists will have some difficulty in accepting—or that Dr. Frazer is inadvertently repeating the mistake against which he begins by warning his readers.

As to the origin of totemism, according to Dr. Frazer, 'it originated in a primitive explanation of conception and child-birth.' 'The ultimate source of totemism is a savage ignorance of paternity,' which 'must at one time have been universal among men.' Thus we are brought to exogamy and the question of its origin. Dr. Westermarck's theory, that the aversion to unions between parents and children, or between brothers and

sisters, is instinctive or innate, is set aside by Dr. Frazer: he prefers Morgan's theory that exogamy was 'a reformatory movement' which 'struck at the roots of promiscuous intercourse by abolishing its worst features.' There are, however, two difficulties in the way of Morgan's theory. The first is, that the supposed state of promiscuity is purely hypothetical, and this Dr. Frazer has to admit: 'the state of promiscuity is a matter of inference only.' The second is the natural consequence of this gratuitous hypothesis: why did savages, if they had no innate or instinctive loathing of incestuous unions, ever come to abhor and prohibit incest? And Dr. Frazer's reply to the difficulty in which his gratuitous hypothesis lands him is, in his own words, 'we cannot tell.' The state of promiscuity is a pure conjecture; and it is a conjecture which, instead of clearing up things, lands us in difficulties which can neither be denied nor explained.

And there are other difficulties which Dr. Frazer overlooks. If the savage ignorance of paternity 'must at one time have been universal among men,' and if the aversion to unions between parent and child is not instinctive or innate, then the ancestors of the Aryans and the Semites must have been in the state of ignorance and could have had no aversion. But Dr. Frazer does not like this: he prefers to think that the ancestors of the Aryans and Semites, probably, simply prohibited the incestuous unions which they abhorred. That is to say, they had an instinctive abhorrence of them. Then why should he resort to the gratuitous hypothesis that the ancestors of the Australian aborigines had none? His reason, we venture to conjecture, is this. The totem system has to be explained; it is an error to regard it as religious; it must therefore have been invented to prohibit certain sexual unions; therefore those incestuous unions cannot have been instinctively abhorrent to the ancestors of the Australian aborigines as they were to the ancestors of the Aryans and Semites. But if they were from the beginning abhorrent to the one set of ancestors, why not to the other? If they were not originally abhorrent to the one set, then why suppose them to have been from the beginning abhorrent to the other? The only reason we can see for Dr. Frazer's decision is his determination to regard the totem-system as having been consciously and deliberately invented by 'primitive sages and lawgivers,' for the purpose of terminating a state of promiscuity which is certainly conjectural and may be purely imaginary.

If the Australian ancestors, like the Aryan and Semitic

ancestors, from the beginning loathed, as all men loathe and have loathed, incestuous unions, then the totem-system was not invented by primitive sages and lawgivers to put a stop to them—indeed the two-class system does not prohibit incest between parent and child. What the totem-system does do is to determine who may partake in the ceremonies which are observed in connexion with the totems. Whether those ceremonies are religious or not is a question on which there is still room for difference of opinion, even after the publication of *Totemism and Exogamy*.

The New Testament of Higher Buddhism. By T. RICHARD, D.D., Litt.D., English Baptist Mission, China. (T. and T. Clark. 1910.) 6s. net.

DR. RICHARD has here translated that part of the Lotus Scripture which is considered by Chinese and Japanese 'initiated' Buddhists to be its essence, and also presents us with a translation of *The Awakening of Faith*, in order that Western readers may be 'in a better position to understand the vital connection between Christianity and Buddhism, and to pave the way for the one great world-wide religion of the future.' With Dr. Richard's aspiration that Christians and Buddhists should 'dwell on their respective ideals rather than on their respective imperfections' we are in sympathy; but we cannot believe that the religion of the future is to be some sort of amalgam of Christianity and Buddhism. 'The vital connection,' however, between Christianity and Buddhism, to which Dr. Richard desires to call attention, seems to consist in certain doctrines which he considers to be common to New Buddhism and to Christianity, and in the fact, as he holds it to be, that those common doctrines 'were not borrowed from one another, but that both came from a common source, Babylonia.' As regards the latter point, the influence that Babylon may have exercised in the centuries before Christ on India and China is and has been matter for speculation; but Dr. Richard does not seem to add any new arguments in support of the speculation, nor does he give a very forcible statement of the old arguments. As for the vital connexion between the New Buddhism, *i.e.* the Mahayana school, and Christianity, the readers of Dr. Richard's translation will be able to judge for themselves how far there are doctrines which are common to Christianity and the New Buddhism. The likeness does not seem to us to be great; and, if it be greater

than appears to us, then the greater is the difficulty of understanding why the fruits of the doctrine have been so different in Europe and in Asia.

The Glory of the Shia World. Translated from a Persian Manuscript by Major P. M. SYKES, C.M.G. (Macmillan. 1910.) 10s. net.

THIS 'tale of a pilgrimage' purports to be translated and edited from a Persian MS. by Major Sykes, assisted by Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din Khan, and is set before the reader without one single prefatory word to explain why, what it is about, or what object is intended to be served.

The Persian author states that he was born in 1859 A.D., and that he completed his work in 1908. The work is, in effect, an autobiography, and less than half of it is occupied by the tale of the pilgrimage. As an autobiography it is interesting. Its value for the reader seems to us to lie mainly in the folklore it contains, and for that he will, perhaps, pardon the somewhat elaborate hoax of which he has, we believe, been the victim at the hands of the grandson of the author of *Haji Baba*.

Melanesians and Polynesians: Their Life-histories described and compared. By GEORGE BROWN, D.D. With illustrations. (Macmillan. 1910.) 12s. net.

DR. BROWN's account of the Melanesians and Polynesians is founded upon the experience of many years spent in missionary work in the islands of the Pacific. In regard to the accuracy and range of the knowledge here displayed, the reader may be advised to compare this work with the severely technical scientific memoirs which have in recent years dealt with the same natives. In such a comparison, the frequency with which the scientific explorer acknowledges his indebtedness to the missionary is a very striking feature. Not only is the missionary appealed to as an interpreter, but his personal acquaintance with tribes ordinarily inaccessible is often the only source of evidence. Dr. Brown has been such a pioneer in remote districts. The record of the experience of a writer who has spent years where the scientific investigator is perforce content to spend weeks, must possess no ephemeral value.

The author does not seek to set forth or sustain any special or particular thesis, and has written consequently a descriptive

memoir. Yet the weak point of a purely descriptive record is not apparent here, thanks to the comparisons instituted stage by stage between the Melanesians and the Polynesians. It remains therefore only to indicate the general scheme of the work. Herein are set forth the life-histories of two types of natives, both on a lowly level of culture, and representing two stages closely approximate, if not indeed actually successive. The subdivisions of the Melanesian race or stock are admitted, as also those of the Polynesians, yet it is found justifiable to treat each group as fairly homogeneous. In each group the conditions of everyday life are related, and in each instance comparisons are instituted as explained above. In this way, the reader is enabled to familiarize himself as fully as possible with the conditions of existence, and above all with the native 'point of view' and its differences in different localities. The value of such a sympathetic insight, leading to the appropriate attitude towards the native, needs no further commendation here.

Taking the conditions of Melanesian native life as an example, it will be found that the usual occupations or professions are few, and not sufficiently specialized to have led to the segregation of castes based upon a differentiation of professional work. The young Melanesian is by turns a hunter of game, a fisherman or an agriculturist. The observances of everyday life are dominated by conditions created by the universal acceptance of certain principles. Such, for instance, are sympathetic magic, tabu, and regulations affecting communal existence. Descent traced through the mother and the rules for contracting marriage are included under the latter heading, while throughout the whole fabric is woven the mysterious strand of the operations of Duk-Duk, the great secret society. It appears, therefore, that although the level of culture and social organization may be termed primitive, it is not on that account uncomplicated. Indeed the highly civilized races have to no small extent divested themselves of many observances that seem to burden existence on the lower plane. Yet this rejection has not been thorough, and it is the merit of Dr. Brown's work to have clearly exhibited, in the detail of a mosaic, customs of which the shadow has still been retained, in some cases nearer home than one would be willing to admit.

The Polynesian communities provide an admirable example of a further advance and of upward progress in almost every respect. It will be remarked, as a significant coincidence, that

the evidence seems to shew that hereditary succession to chieftainship appears only when descent becomes definitely particular. Among the very numerous customs recorded by Dr. Brown are many which seem unnecessarily cruel, and some of these appear quite unintelligible, save as instances of excessive and fanatical devotion to decrees, the origin of which is no longer, or only partly, discoverable. Of such, the instance of an extreme development of the principle of seclusion of females before attaining the age of marriage may be cited. Dr. Brown actually observed instances in New Ireland of the seclusion principle carried to the extreme of incarceration. Young girls were continuously imprisoned in bamboo cages so small as to allow of the slightest movements only. And the period of engagement might last for five years. On the other hand the remarkable story of the Na-loca (p. 148), an actual realization of the myth to which we refer contemptuously as a 'canard,' is hard to reconcile with the most sympathetic consideration of 'ceremonial' cannibalism. In these, as in so many respects, the Melanesian is revealed in a more savage stage of development than the Polynesian. As already remarked, the comparative accounts provide much evidence of gradual and upward progress, while the reaction of one set of customs upon others is admirably, and often the more so because it is unconsciously, demonstrated by the author.

In view of the wealth of information, the excellent type and the numerous clear illustrations, the price of this book appears extraordinarily moderate.

Nigerian Studies, or The Religious and Political System of the Yoruba. By R. E. DENNETT. With illustrations. (Macmillan. 1910.) 8s. 6d. net.

THE history of Yorubaland emerged from the traditional stage in or about the year 1700. Mr. Dennett gives a brief retrospect of the principal events of the last two centuries before commencing the principal subject of his book. The people themselves are of the West African negro type, inhabiting the western province of the British Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The Yoruba natives are, therefore, neighbours of the Dahomey people, of the Hausas, and the Fulanis. The intercourse of these tribes whether pacific or hostile has been determined partly by commerce, partly by intertribal disputes, and lastly by

religious, *i.e.* Islamic, propaganda. But so strongly were the pre-Islamic conceptions impressed on the native mind, that Mohammedanism seems to have had but little influence upon them. It is to be noted, however, that Mr. Dennett suggests (pp. 11, 12) the possibility of some such influence, but in the latter part of the book this is shewn to have been almost negligible. The life of a Yoruba man is dominated by the observance of customs, and many of these are hardly intelligible if studied singly. Mr. Dennett has reason to believe that the sum total of the customs he describes may be best understood on the assumption that they form part of a scheme or system, a blend of religion and philosophy. The main outlines of this system are set forth, forming the essential substance of this book. But the author has gone further in the concluding chapter, and here, with no little audacity, he attempts to expound a sort of correlation between the ground-work of the intellectual conceptions just mentioned and what may be described as a parallel series of primary sense-impressions of a physiological nature.

All this is somewhat abstruse, and calls for the very clearest forms of presentation and exposition. Yet these qualities are strikingly absent, so that the first impressions gained are not likely to be favourable. It must be admitted that unless the closest attention is devoted to each chapter in turn the final result will be a sense of mental confusion. Still, the great interest of the subject demands at least a careful investigation of the general purport of the book. It will be noted that this challenges criticism under three headings. First comes the evidence that the Yoruba native is in such a stage of intellectual evolution as allows him to speculate consciously on the phenomena of death, and on the circumstances of possible existence after death. That the native does so speculate there can be no doubt, in the light of the testimony adduced by Mr. Dennett. And it is noteworthy that the Yoruba belief claims not only that the dead continue to exist, but further, that although the departed may pass into such a form as we should term a spirit, yet they have more material representations as well. In fact, Mr. Dennett describes the widespread belief that the dead are changed into stones. And if we doubt this, we may study at Ife, the religious capital of Yorubaland, stones which are still shewn and even worshipped as the venerated representatives of persons long since deceased.

The second, and in fact the most important, section of the book deals with the results of such capital conceptions. For

it follows, almost of necessity, that the deceased may maintain, or may inaugurate, spiritual intercourse with the living. And of necessity also this will be in many instances an intercourse between departed ancestors and their living descendants.

So far, nothing very novel has been described. Other primitive tribes have similar beliefs. Nor is it a new discovery that the tendency to deify the departed ancestors is strongly developed. The real contributions to knowledge consist in the conceptions formed by the Yoruba about what may be termed the organization of the spiritual community. According to the native accounts, that organization is perfectly distinct, and Mr. Dennett has been enabled to gather much information as to its details.

Departed spirits are known as 'Orishas.' Theoretically, the number of these is, of course, beyond computation, but actually some two hundred and one are especially recognized. These are of very different ranks and positions. The Yoruba have a legend of creation, and believe that the procreative powers were a man and a woman. The Orishas of these and their offspring hold the highest rank. From these, the days of the week are named, and it should be noted that the number is but four. From these, the four walls and four gates customarily built about a Yoruba town received their designations. The names of the four quarters of the earth, the fourfold composition of the Yoruba legislative body, the four kings of Abeokuta still further embody the same conception. Again, the newly born infant has to be provided with an 'Orisha' together with three 'Ewaws,' which are seemingly a kind of subsidiary Orisha. By the combination of these four, the individual's choice in marriage will be determined at maturity. Some Orishas (Ifa) are benevolent, others (such as Oro) are the reverse, and it is interesting to note that the shrewd native mind has utilized this belief by the establishment of a semi-secret cult of the malevolent Oro, and that this secret society, for admission to which men alone are qualified, is a political instrument of the greatest power. Enough has been said to shew how completely the Yoruba mind, as revealed to us by Mr. Dennett, is permeated by the conceptions thus outlined. But this is only the commencement of study, as the author himself remarks. In particular, it may be suggested that fuller knowledge would shew that the social organization (if it may be so called) of the supernatural world, as conceived by the Yoruba, preserves all unconsciously a memory

of the earlier stages of the constitution of their precursors, and of the first social organization of humanity. At any rate, it may be supposed that the men who devised such ideas based them upon a knowledge of their own surroundings. On the other hand, it is very possible that the modern inquirer is too apt in such cases to provide too rigid and formal a frame for the various relationships discovered by him, and this reflexion has been constantly called up in the perusal of these pages.

With this second section, the most valuable portion of Mr. Dennett's book is at an end. In regard to the concluding chapter, it may be said that the underlying principle is admirable in theory, but the time for writing out such a parallel has not yet arrived. Nor do the Yoruba seem *a priori* likely to prove the most satisfactory people for establishing the applicability of correlations of the kind here adumbrated.

IV.—DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

New Testament Theology. By H. C. SHELDON, Professor of Systematic Theology in Boston University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911.) 6s. 6d. net.

THE author intimates in the preface that he has tried to produce a book which shall commend itself to the general reader and also serve as a text-book. We cannot but regret that in both respects he has failed. For this his manner of writing is largely responsible. His style is congested and decasyllabic, and is generally marked by the concise obscurity so often associated with an encyclopaedia. The general reader will scarcely be stimulated. Again, Dr. Sheldon has forgotten that the hall-mark of a good text-book is clarity, not brevity. But only few can combine clarity with compactness, and it by no means follows that a 'tabloid' discussion of large problems *ipso facto* helps the student. The author writes, on the whole, as a conservative critic; he covers familiar ground in a familiar way, without contributing anything of note, except, perhaps, some very good remarks on St. Matt. xviii 18-20 (pp. 110-112). Doubtless the book will be helpful to his own pupils; but the wider circle, whether of interested laymen or inquiring students, can consult with advantage more useful, if larger, text-books.

New Testament Theology. By F. S. GUY WARMAN, M.A., B.D., Principal of St. Aidan's College. 'Anglican Church Handbooks.' (Longmans. 1910.) 1s. net.

THIS little book is an attempt to sum up the teaching of the New Testament on the most important subjects with which it deals, and is intended to help Church people to obtain a more intelligent grasp of the doctrines of the Church of England as founded upon Holy Scripture. Mr. Warman writes, broadly speaking, from the point of view of the Evangelical school, and in his treatment of the Atonement he rightly lays stress upon the fact as distinguished from various theories which attempt to explain it.

A more comprehensive list of works recommended for study would perhaps prove helpful to those who feel drawn by a perusal of this book to further investigation of the problems discussed.

1. *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation.* By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (Skeffington. 1910.) 3s. 6d. net.
2. *Salvation through Atonement.* Ten Instructions. By GRIFFITH ROBERTS, M.A., Dean of Bangor. (Mowbray. 1910.) 2s. 6d. net.
3. *The Atonement.* By J. A. V. MAGEE, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Hamilton Terrace, N.W. (Mowbray. 1909.) 1s. net.
4. *The Doctrine of the Atonement chiefly as set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By J. B. OLDRYD, M.A., Vicar of Brantingham, E. Yorks. Preface by the Rev. Canon G. BODY, M.A. (Elliot Stock. 1910.) 2s. net.
5. *The Atonement.* By MELVILLE SCOTT, B.D., Vicar of Castle Church, Stafford. (George Allen and Sons. 1910.) 5s. net.

THESE five very different books relating to the Atonement illustrate the interest felt in that doctrine. Dr. Oesterley, whose book is the most scholarly and, in some respects, the most valuable of the five, deals with the Christian doctrine less directly than the other writers. He has undertaken, not unsuccessfully, the difficult task of collecting in a small volume the most important parts of what is known about the doctrine of Mediation in ancient and modern Jewish literature. His book is likely to prove very serviceable to ordinary readers who are educated and intelligent; and as a useful *résumé* it may well receive the attention of scholars also. The Dean of Bangor's *Salvation*

through Atonement consists of ten instructions of a popular character. They contain very clear teaching on Sin and Forgiveness which expresses the traditional Christian belief, in methods and phraseology marked by attention to what has been written of late years. For instance, the Dean writes, 'Christ suffered as our Substitute, for He died that we might live ; but the correctness of that sense must be guarded by the thought that He suffered as our Representative' ; 'He submitted Himself to the divine will as the first-fruits of the human race, involving, therefore, the submission of mankind' ; 'On the one hand, the human conscience would not sanction indifference on the part of a mother towards the persistent wrong-doing of her child' ; 'On the other hand, it would not approve of her refusal to forgive on his submission and repentance' ; 'It is in forgiving through the Incarnate Son, and through Him alone, that God is " just, and the Justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."'

Mr. Magee's book has a like aim to that by the Dean of Bangor. Its strength lies in the vivid presentation of truth and the constant, if restrained, appeal to the heart and conscience. It would have been well if the writer had explicitly shewn that in the sentence 'Union, not Substitution, is the keynote of the Christian doctrine of Atonement,' it is a Calvinistic idea of Substitution, and not the true belief that Christ died to save us from eternal death, which he is rejecting. Mr. Oldroyd's work is slight, but it supplies a valuable treatment of the sacrificial character of Christ's death and life in the light of the teaching contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews concerning Mediation, and our Lord's heavenly pleading. Mr. Scott's *The Atonement* is the least useful, though it is the most ambitious, of the books here reviewed. The writer expresses much truth, but his work lacks clearness and force ; and he confuses the perversions which have often been associated with the ideas conveyed in such words as 'vicarious' and 'substitution' with the ideas themselves. The character of the book calls for fuller expression of the object of Sacrifice as a means of communion with Deity in connexion with what is well said about sacrifice as the offering of life rather than of death. In the use made of a quotation from the Bishop of Durham, on the sacrificial meaning 'in sacrificial connexions' of 'Poiein' and 'Anamnesis,' it would have been well to mention that the Bishop, while stating this in general terms, goes on in the passage from which the quotation is taken to explain that he does not accept this sacrificial meaning of the

words as used by our Lord at the institution of the Eucharist.¹ We agree with Mr. Scott as to the inferences to be drawn from the sacrificial surroundings of the Last Supper ; but it would have been fairer to the Bishop of Durham to quote more of what he says, if he is quoted at all. Mr. Scott's book has its weak sides ; but readers who will give time and consideration to it will find many valuable and fruitful thoughts.

1. *Christianity is Christ.* By W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS, D.D. (Longmans. 1909.) 1s. net.
2. *The Incarnation.* By G. S. STREATFEILD, M.A., Rector of Fenny Compton, and Hon. Canon of the Collegiate Church of St. Michael, Coventry. (Longmans. 1910.) 1s. net.

THESE two volumes of the series entitled *Anglican Church Handbooks* are likely to be useful to the readers for whom that series is designed. They are not intended for the learned, but for such persons of ordinary education as form a large part of the Church-going public. Both books convey much information and instruction in a small space. Though they make no attempt to meet in detail the inquiries which are familiar to scholars and to critics of the New Testament, they contain general considerations which are of value in regard to these inquiries, as when Dr. Thomas points out that it is the Person of Christ which makes His miracles credible ; and puts together the various lines of proof which indicate that our Lord's Resurrection actually happened, and emphasizes the congruity of the Virgin Birth with the life which it ushered into the world ; and when Mr. Streatfeild indicates the need of the Incarnation to explain the driving force of Christianity, and refers to the history of the Church as the most convincing argument for the Resurrection of Christ. It is an instance of the weaker sides which are in both books that it may be doubted whether Mr. Streatfeild has a due appreciation of the differences among the different types of Arians in the fourth century. The strength of both is in the thoroughness with which expression is given to the conviction that Christianity centres in Christ Himself, and cannot be separated from His Person. It is not without significance to compare what is said by Dr. Thomas and Mr. Streatfeild on this point with the emphasis laid on it by two writers whose

¹ H. C. G. Moule, *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 264, 265.

outlook was in some respects very different from theirs, Cardinal Newman¹ and Dr. Liddon.²

Sin as a Problem of To-day. By JAMES ORR, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics at the United Free Church College, Aberdeen. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1910.) 6s.

DR. ORR gives us in this book a vigorous defence of the Christian doctrine of sin against attacks from both the philosophical and scientific side. It is possible to welcome the attempt even though it cannot be said that it has succeeded in clearing away all the difficulties which cluster round this most difficult subject. The method adopted is to expound the Biblical teaching on the nature and development of sin and to compare the philosophical and ethical theories which seem to contradict it. This is perhaps not quite successfully done. Space does not allow of an adequate presentation of the theories which are confuted, and a reader who is not already acquainted with their writings will probably gain the impression that Mr. Bradley, Dr. M'Taggart and Professor A. E. Taylor are perverse and entirely irrational people. Is it safe at the present day to dismiss Nietzsche as an example of 'Ego-mania'?

Dr. Orr deals at length with the question of heredity and the evolution of man from the lower animals. He arrives at the conclusion that a mechanical evolution hypothesis 'cannot be pronounced adequate to explain the moral and spiritual dignity of man.' Heredity, he succeeds in shewing, is still involved in obscurity. He argues for the possibility of the transmission of acquired moral characteristics. In chapter viii this possibility is used in defence of one side of the doctrine of Original Sin—the inheritance of depraved tendencies. The whole discussion is worth reading, but unfortunately Dr. Orr's usual clarity of language here deserts him, and it is difficult to discover in what sense he maintains the 'positive' side of Original Sin. The outcome of the discussion seems to be that the individual is responsible for yielding to inherited evil tendencies, but, in

¹ *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*, pp. 462-4 (fourth edition).

² *The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (Bampton Lectures for 1866), p. 129 (fifteenth edition).

spite of some vague language about 'racial responsibility,' there is no attempt to shew that Original Sin is worthy of condemnation in infants. We have selected those passages for notice where Dr. Orr seems most open to criticism, but the book is a valuable contribution from the conservative side to the discussion of a supremely important problem.

V.—LITURGIOLOGY.

Some Principles of Liturgical Reform: a Contribution towards the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer. By W. H. FRERE, D.D. (Murray. 1911.) 5s.

THIS very interesting book falls into two parts: a plea for a revision of the Prayer Book, which occupies the first chapter; and a sketch of the principal objects to be aimed at in such a revision, and of the best means to adopt in carrying it out, which constitutes the rest of the volume. The arguments in favour of revision are pretty much those which are set out in Dr. Beeching's pamphlet on the *Desirability of Revision*, but they are expressed with a sharper edge; and they should cause searchings of heart among those who have tried to identify a *non-possumus* attitude on the question of revision with sound Churchmanship.

The need of revision being allowed, Dr. Frere proceeds to lay down his principles, both general and particular. There are, at the start, two perils to avoid: first, 'insularity,' which seems to be a polite name for incapacity, for the instances alleged are the too familiar special prayers 'which are nothing but an irritating re-arrangement of phrases borrowed from other prayers,' and forms of service 'which are nothing but a shuffling of familiar materials'; and secondly, 'incongruity,' as exemplified by zealous clergymen who import mediaeval and foreign ceremonial into the 'massive and bare simplicity' of the English rite, or miss the spirit of its 'openness' by an attempted return to the early principle of veiling the mysteries. After this general warning the Prayer Book is discussed in detail from beginning to end, but fifty pages out of two hundred are devoted to the Kalendar. As a proof that Dr. Frere is approaching his subject in a purely liturgical temper without *arrière pensée* this is excellent; but it also suggests that, having particular and decided views of his own upon the revision of the Kalendar, he has taken the opportunity of ventilating them, and at disproportionate length. The principles underlying Dr. Frere's proposed

revision of the Kalendar are few enough ; and they affect chiefly Black Letter days, the Red being Biblical and above criticism. The most important is that candidates for the revised Kalendar must be both historical and interesting. This two-handed engine abolishes at once the following present occupants of niches : SS. Prisca, Valentine, Nicomede, Evurtius, Crispin, Machutus, Lucian, Blaise, King Edward the Martyr, Silvester, Brice, Lambert, Margaret, Anne, Denys and Katherine. Of the four Virgin Martyrs two, Agatha and Lucy, are taken away, and two, Agnes and Cecilia, are left. SS. George, Giles, Nicholas, and Leonard are left as 'types.' So far Dr. Frere's proposals are not likely to arouse opposition ; for it matters very little to nine Churchmen out of ten whether these names figure in the Kalendar or not ; though, as Dr. Frere points out, it will matter a good deal, if provision is made for their liturgical commemoration, as he proposes. We come, then, to the additions.

First, two Biblical festivals are suggested for promotion from black letter to red, *viz.* the Transfiguration, and St. Mary Magdalene. Probably both these proposals would meet with general acceptance. This, however, cannot be presumed of Dr. Frere's other suggestions. He proposes that Roman error should be repudiated, 'in the most effective way,' by substituting for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on August 15 a harmless 'Dormitio' ; and for 'Corpus Christi' a similar festival on the same date, and, if possible, with the same name. On the other hand the revival of All Souls' Day is considered undesirable. The most interesting, but also, as we think, the most impracticable part of Dr. Frere's scheme is the proposal to increase largely the Black Letter memorials. A previous question that must be determined is whether the Church of England intends to go back on the Reformation settlement and keep as Holy Days, with a peculiar service, other festivals than those of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles. If not, it may well be asked whether a Black Letter Kalendar for the mere preservation of the memories of good men is not an anachronism when we have Church histories and dictionaries of biography. The sort of apple of discord that Dr. Frere is preparing for Convocation, may be estimated from his proposal to restore not only SS. Cuthbert, Oswald, Wilfrid and Botulf, but St. Thomas of Canterbury ; to commemorate from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only William Laud and Nicholas Ferrar, and from the nineteenth only Bishops Patteson and Hannington.

The proposals for revision of the Prayer Book itself are not unlike those which have been advocated by other writers ; but with great ingenuity Dr. Frere brings them under 'principles,' and so may possibly succeed in diminishing the inevitable opposition that all proposals for change must meet with. In regard, for example, to the use of the Psalter and Lessons from the Bible, he admits the distinction frequently urged between the needs of the daily and weekly worshipper ; and proposes to deal with it, on liturgical lines, by allotting to the former the 'principle of continuity' and to the latter the 'principle of selection,' both of which have been recognized by authority. There will then be Proper Psalms as well as Proper Lessons for every Sunday and Holy Day in the year, while on the week-days both Psalms and Lessons will continue to be read in course. For the Psalter he supplies a new table arranged for a course of four weeks. In regard to the course of Bible-reading the interesting proposal is made that 'the books should be read in a logical or historical order, and not in the chance order of the Biblical arrangement.' Another important problem with which Dr. Frere deals, bringing order out of chaos by the virtue of 'principle,' is that of the Sunday morning service. Assuming that the Prayer Book sequence of services, Morning Prayer, Litany, Holy Communion, is to be maintained as desirable, he asks how liturgical revision may facilitate this. His answer is : (1) 'by the omission of elements in these services which are repeated, in duplicate or even more frequently, in the course of the morning' ; (2) 'by identifying the last invocation of the Litany with the Kyries of the Eucharist.' There is much to be said for both of these proposals, but we should have been interested to see Dr. Frere's justification of the former as a liturgical 'principle.' A further recommendation of Dr. Frere's method of revising by principle is, as he points out, that two great stumbling blocks of the Sunday worshipper disappear, without any awkward questions being raised—the maledictory Psalms by the principle of selection, and the *Quicunque vult* by the principle of non-repetition.

Of the other changes proposed we have space to notice one only, the change in the service of Holy Communion. Dr. Frere gives good reasons why he asks for some revision here, and why he limits his plea for revision very narrowly. He proposes to mend two dislocations, by a re-arrangement of prayers in the following order : (1) Comfortable Words ; (2) Prayer of Humble Access ; (3) *Sursum Corda* ; (4) Preface and *Sanctus* ; (5) Con-

secration Prayer; (6) Prayer of Oblation; (7) Lord's Prayer. The Church Militant Prayer he would not re-annex to the Prayer of Consecration.

In taking leave of Dr. Frere's book we must express our sense of the candid and conciliatory temper in which it is written. If some of his proposals seem to reflect the needs of his own community rather than those of the Church at large, that is not surprising. But there is great gain to the Church in having a definite scheme of revision laid before it by a liturgical expert, and advocated in a temperate spirit.

Shall we revise the Prayer Book? A Question answered in the negative. By J. WICKHAM LEGG. (Moring. 1911.) 1s. net.

CHURCHMEN owe so large a debt of gratitude to Dr. Wickham Legg for the scholarly way in which he has edited many important liturgical texts, that they readily forgive an occasional petulant outburst, especially as they understand that when his anger burns most fiercely he has the interests of liturgical knowledge most keenly at heart. And it must be admitted that his zeal against any revision of the Prayer Book has been profitable to the Church so far as it has led him to criticize with severity some of the less wise proposals of the Committee of Convocation; or, as in the present pamphlet, to characterize as they deserve the amateur attempts at compiling services and writing collects, of which in recent years we have had too many examples. But when Dr. Wickham Legg leaves his own last, and from criticizing particular proposals proceeds to attack the policy of revision in general, he ceases to speak as an expert. Here is a characteristic passage:

‘We are told that the rubrics must be revised because they are old. Is it seriously urged that the rubrics must be revised because they are now 250 years old or 350 years old? This is the argument that a French Revolutionist would have used in 1789, to destroy anything that he found in existence. . . . We shall soon have demands for revision of the Gospels on account of their antiquity; as their moral precepts are quite unsuited to the present age.’

This is the sort of stuff that might draw a cheer on a party platform, but it is unworthy of a scholar. The Royal Commission, which recommended a revision, did so, not on the ground of

the mere age of the rubrics, but because they were framed 'for a different condition of things,' needlessly condemning much which Church people to-day would value. Does Dr. Wickham Legg put the rubric forbidding reservation of the Sacrament on the same level, let us say, as the Gospel precept against rash judgement? If not, why should he write as if he does? Here is another sentence which would incline a stranger to think that Dr. Wickham Legg himself had found one of the 'moral precepts' of the Gospel unsuited to the present age. To those persons who plead for liberty not to sing the maledictory Psalms, on the ground that our Lord expressly forbade His followers to curse their enemies, he replies:

'To such tender consciences . . . it would be bad policy to yield. They are about as Christian as those would be who, now that we are threatened by the plague, would interfere to prevent the extermination of rats, or found a society for the protection of fleas and mosquitoes.'

We are quite sure that Dr. Wickham Legg does not mean what he says; he is only carrying on controversy in the old-fashioned way. But the present age has decided that the moral precepts of the Gospel must govern even ecclesiastical controversies; and we think the change is advantageous.

The Hexaplar Psalter: being the Book of Psalms in six English Versions. Edited by W. ALDIS WRIGHT. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1911.) 25s. net.

THE Vice-Master of Trinity has produced a fascinating book by printing in parallel columns six versions of the Psalter: Coverdale's original version from his Bible of 1535; his version corrected by Sebastian Münster's Latin for the Great Bible of 1539; the version from the Geneva Bible of 1560; the Bishops' version of 1568 made by T. B., whom Dr. Aldis Wright identifies with Thomas Bickley, one of Parker's chaplains; and the Authorized and Revised versions. In Appendices he gives marginal readings from the editions which have them, and Coverdale's corrections from his versions of 1537 and 1550, and the various editions of the Great Bible. At a moment when proposals are being put forward for a corrected edition of the Prayer Book Psalter, which is Coverdale's from the Great Bible, it is an interesting exercise to compare some of its least satis-

factory verses with the efforts of other translators, so as to find the easiest path to revision. Take Psalm ix 6 :

'O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end ; even as the cities which thou hast destroyed, their memorial is perished with them.'

The vocative appears from 1539 to 1611 ; but the R.V. reads :

'The enemy are come to an end, they are desolate for ever ;
And the cities which thou hast overthrown,
Their very memorial is perished.'

Coverdale, however, had written in his original version :

'The enemies' swords are come to an end, thou hast overthrown their cities, their memorial is perished with them.'

So in lviii 8, where the P.B. version reads 'so let indignation vex him even as a thing that is raw,' Coverdale had first written 'the wrath shall take them away quick, like a stormy wind,' which gives an excellent sense ; and in lxviii 30, where the text is possibly corrupt, he had first written 'Reprove the beasts among the reeds, the heap of bulls with the calves,' which is very near the R.V., though the reference to Egypt seems to be missed. These examples will suggest the advantage of consulting Coverdale's original version when the time comes for revision ; for there can be no doubt that his version has more advantages over the Authorized or Revised versions than mere smoothness of rhythm. 'There is in every part,' says Bishop Westcott, 'an endeavour to transpose the spirit as well as the letter into the English rendering.' One more example may be given of a well-known mistranslation. Everybody who has taken part in a funeral service must have been suddenly pulled up in the midst of the *Domine refugium* by the eleventh verse, which seems to have no sense at all, or a very bad sense :

'But who regardeth the power of thy wrath, for even thereafter as a man feareth so is thy displeasure.'

The Bishops' Bible makes the bad sense plainer by writing 'even thereafter as a man feareth thee, so feeleth he thy displeasure.' The A.V., following the Geneva, keeps the bad sense, but makes it vague again :

'Who knoweth the power of thine anger ? Even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath.'

The R.V. corrects this into :

'Who knoweth the power of thine anger,
And thy wrath according to the fear that is due unto thee.'

which seems to mean something, but it is difficult to say what. If 'and thy wrath' were omitted, it would become more intelligible. Dr. Cheyne's paraphrase is 'Who has realized the intensity of God's displeasure against sin, in the degree which the "fear of God" (*i.e.* true religion) requires?' It is quite clear that the words 'against sin' must be expressed in any English version, if the meaning is not to be missed altogether. Coverdale's first version was 'But who regardeth the power of thy wrath, thy fearful and terrible displeasure?' which, as usual, gives a good sense, if not the complete sense of the original.

The Old Catholic Missal and Ritual. Prepared for the Use of English-speaking Congregations of Old Catholics, in Communion with the ancient Catholic Archiepiscopal See of Utrecht. (London: Cope and Fenwick. 1909.) 6s. net.

THIS book is stated to have been 'prepared by the Right Rev. Arnold H. Mathew, D.D.', and it bears his 'Nihil obstat' and the 'Imprimatur' of the Archbishop of Utrecht. With certain exceptions (one of the most important of which is the substitution of 'Patriarch' for 'Papa' in the canon of the Mass and in collects and other prayers) it is a translation of the Roman Missal, Ritual, and Pontifical. Some features of the translation are lamentable: such phrases as 'Exert, we beseech Thee, O Lord, Thy power, and come; that by Thy protection we may be freed from the imminent dangers of our sins' and 'Mercifully hear, we beseech Thee, O Lord, the prayers of Thy Church, that all oppositions and errors being removed, she may serve Thee with a secure and undisturbed devotion,' are not likely to commend the use of the English language in public worship. Since the editor has ceased to be a representative of the Old Catholics in England, the book has lost the interest which it would otherwise have possessed.

Le Nombre Musical Grégorien. Par le R. P. Dom ANDRÉ MOCQUEREAU, Prieur de Solesmes. Volume I. (Paris: Desclée.)

THE Benedictines of the French Congregation have the honour of having wrought a peaceful revolution. Through their learning,

artistic sense, and perseverance the debased Plain Song, which had been in possession for centuries, has been forced to give way to the real Plain Song, recovered and restored as it was in the classical period ranging from the seventh to the eleventh century. This is no small achievement ; and while the honour belongs to the Congregation and the Order as a whole, there are two names which are specially connected with it, those of Abbot Pothier and Prior Mocquereau. The results achieved are so solid that, in all main essentials, there is no room for controversy left. Other workers in the field abroad and Anglican investigators at home have worked along the same lines at a respectful distance behind the Benedictines, have verified their methods and to a considerable extent their results. Apart from a small but persistent school of mensuralists, there is no discordant voice in the chorus of comment upon the main work that has been done. Such unanimity cannot, of course, last for ever. It is no discredit to the movement, but quite the reverse, to recognize that now the inquiry has reached the stage where it deals with minor points instead of foundation principles, and where it evokes divergent views. The two names mentioned represent two different tendencies in this sense ; and in this book we have some minute and scholarly work of Dom Mocquereau and deductions to which we suspect the older student would not wholly subscribe.

The niceties of rhythm and the precise methods of execution to be adopted in dealing with the intricate *vocalizzi* of the elaborate chant are the subjects in question. Without departing into technicalities which would be out of place in this *Review*, it is enough to say that no student of the subject can neglect Dom Mocquereau's book, and all students will probably find in it much that is new and much that is convincing. No such clear definition of some of the more complex reums has hitherto been reached, nor has so much evidence ever been brought together as a basis for the definition. At the same time we could wish the results were less laboriously expounded. It is a common fault which has beset a good deal of the work of Solesmes : time and space seem of no account to the writer, and irrelevancy is not severely judged.

We may hope that in this, as in other cases (notably the tiresomely long prefaces to the *Paléographie Musicale*), the results and the arguments will be disentangled from the cloud of material in which they are wrapped by some enthusiastic disciple, and stated in a business-like form such as will not repel

the inquirer, but give him the whole gist of the volume in a quarter of the space. Then the writer will more widely gain the praise and appreciation that his researches deserve.

VI.—MISSIONS.

Service Abroad. Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Cambridge. By the Right Rev. Bishop [H. H.] MONTGOMERY, D.D. (Longmans. 1910.) 2s. 6d. net.

BISHOP MONTGOMERY has given us a bright little book, as useful as it is interesting. Though specially intended for those about to go out to the mission-field, it will repay perusal by many who are already there, and still more by all intelligent workers for the missionary cause at home—some of whom it may well lead on to undertake the work themselves. After a chapter on general principles for service abroad, the Bishop deals with the special principles and conditions of work (1) in India, (2) in the Far East, (3) in Africa north of the Equator, especially in the face of Islam, (4) in Africa south of the Equator, (5) among our own race and English-speaking people; while the final chapter is on the ever more and more important subject of 'Women's Work Abroad.' The Bishop's own counsel—far different for missions in different countries—is ever such as we might expect from him, with his earnest piety, his deep love of the work and all its details, his powers of organization, his wide acquaintance and varied experience; yet one of the best features of the whole book is that which his humility has made him introduce—the mass of sound advice he has collected from experienced workers in different mission-fields. In chapter after chapter, paragraphs will be found often containing many different headings, dealing sometimes with highly spiritual matters, but far more frequently with the most practical details of everyday life and work in far-off lands: full of sympathy, full of 'sanctified common sense,' full of warning against the many temptations which, if yielded to, cause the work to fail, or worse still, lead promising missionaries to 'go under.' Many men and women have thus contributed to the Bishop's little book, and probably none more valuable of its kind is at present in existence.

The Reproach of Islam. By the Rev. W. H. T. GAIRDNER. (C.M.S. 1910.) 2s. net.

MR. GAIRDNER'S book is one of several which have been issued jointly by many Missionary Societies (the C.M.S. among the rest) for the use of Mission Study Circles. It is a saddening work, as its name implies. A brilliant narrative of Mohammed's life, and the leading events of Islam's subsequent history—an account of the religion itself (the worship, briefly, of Almighty Power at the expense of Love and Holiness) and of its working, especially as a cast-iron social system, in the lands it has occupied—a picture of the terrible progress it has made, and is even now making, the result of burning religious enthusiasm allied with nature, the world, and the flesh—a frank statement of the odds, from a human point of view fearful and heart-breaking, against which Christianity must contend in its conflict with Islam—such is the main substance of the book. But another picture is shewn in the last three chapters—that of Christianity, past and present, wrestling against these odds, and (especially in our own time) not in vain. For why? The greatest weapon of all has been abandoned to us—the sword of the Spirit. 'The Spirit of Jesus is the only asset of the Church.' Where this is remembered, the Cross is even now gaining ground upon the Crescent.

Missions and the Minor Prophets. By the Rev. F. S. GUY WARMAN, B.D. (C.M.S. 1910.) 1s. net.

No abstract would do justice to this little book. It is one of those which must be *read*, not read about. The missionary message of six of the Minor Prophets—Jonah, Joel, Amos, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi—is set forth in detail, and the Christian student of Missions will rise from it cheered as well as enlightened. 'The prophet looks forward to Christ; the missionary back to Him. The work of both centres round His Person and His work.' Such is the keynote of a book which should supply much new suggestion for missionary sermons.

Christ and the Nations: An Examination of Old and New Testament Teaching. By the Rev. A. J. TAIT, B.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5s. net.

THE main drift of Mr. Tait's book is sufficiently explained in its short preface, of which the opening words are these: 'The

aim of this book is to show that the evangelization of the world in these latter days is part of the counsel of God, which was revealed with growing clearness through the utterances of Prophet and Psalmist, was declared anew by Christ, and was committed by Him to the Church for fulfilment.' These headings the author expands in the several chapters, often in the most interesting manner—shewing how from the first, gradually but surely, God's Will as to the ingathering of the nations was revealed to men, till it was fulfilled in the commands of our Saviour, the preaching of His Apostles (especially St. Paul), and the catholicity of the Church they founded. When it is added that prophecy and the arguments from it are always carefully handled, and that full justice is done to reasonable and scholarly criticism, we have said enough to shew the usefulness of Mr. Tait's work, both from an expository point of view and as a justification of Christian Missions.

The Interpretation of the Character of Christ to Non-Christian Races: An Apology for Christian Missions. By the Rev. Canon C. H. ROBINSON. (Longmans. 1910.) 3s. 6d. net.

'THE goal of Christianity is the attainment of character.' Such, after he has described the goals of the average Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, and Musulman, is Canon Robinson's text, which leads him on to the perfect Character actually revealed in Jesus Christ, and the means of presenting it effectively to the different non-Christian races, alike through our teaching and our personal example. Of the latter and its effects, some striking anecdotes are related; of the former, Canon Robinson shews at length how it must draw out the very highest ideals of other religions, and must shew how they are all included in the Character of Christ, and there become practical. The chapters on these various ideals are most interesting; notably perhaps that on Hinduism, with its expositions of the *Bhagavad-gita* and the *Ramayana*, and that on Confucianism, with its splendid selection from the great teacher's sayings. The value of the book is fully maintained to the end; each of the last four chapters deserves mention—'Are Missions to Mohammedans Justifiable?' 'Seven Objections to Christian Missions,' 'Heathen London,' and 'The Interpretation of Natural Beauty.' The second of these is a picture of a supposed gathering of objectors to Christian Missions at Jerusalem in the days of St. Paul, such as may well

be taken to heart by those who talk of the uselessness of missionary work in our own day.

Three Years in Tristan Da Cunha. By K. M. BARROW. (Skeffingtons. 1910.) 7s. 6d. net.

VERY different is this volume from all others which may be called 'missionary books.' Its writer is the wife of the Rev. J. G. Barrow, who worked for three years (1906-1909) as S.P.G. chaplain to the mixed community settled on the solitary but remarkable island of Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic. In the romance of its history it is inferior only to Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands; and as at Pitcairn the good that sprang up in unpromising soil was due to one man, John Adams, so at Tristan many of the best traditions of the island are due to one man, Corporal Glass. Mrs. Barrow, an earnest fellow-worker with her husband among the islanders, tells her story in the form of a diary, straightforward and unpretentious, her descriptions being all the more picturesque because so simple. We hope it may be possible to publish the book in a cheaper form, for it certainly deserves to be widely read; though we fear this would probably mean the omission of most, if not all, of the excellent photographic illustrations which add so much to the vividness of the narrative. The life on Tristan is certainly a hard one, but as a rule it is happy, and most of the people are deeply attached to their island home. Cut off as they are from the rest of mankind, the great events of their lives are the sighting of vessels, and the visiting of them, chiefly for trading purposes and the sending and receiving of letters; it is amusing to read how the cry of 'Sail ho!' will rouse the whole settlement, whether by day or night. Mrs. Barrow's delightful pages shew us the vigorous, homely, and really loveable characters of many of these islanders, whose very names are given us. She is far from blind to their faults, as the reader will easily discover for himself; and it is melancholy to add that the latter part of the work is less bright than the beginning, owing to the bad influence of several families from the Cape who arrived on the island in March 1908. We wish we had room for even a few of the romantic and amusing details, of both of which the book is full; and must conclude by heartily commending it to the general reader who is ready to afford 7s. 6d. for its perusal.

Pioneer Church Work in British Columbia: A Memoir of the Episcopate of Action Windeyer Sillitoe, First Bishop of New Westminster. By the Rev. H. H. GOWEN. With a Preface by the Revs. H. EDWARDES and R. SMALL. (Mowbray. 1910.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS work was originally printed in 1899, five years after the Bishop's death. It is reprinted now, to bring to the memory of the present generation one to whom the Church, not only in British Columbia but in all Canada, owes a deep debt of gratitude. Bishop Sillitoe, in addition to the great qualities which he shared with other pioneer Missionary Bishops, had a magnetic personality all his own. His difficult diocese—far more difficult in those days than it has become since the country was fairly opened out—was built up by him on solid foundations, and many heart-breaking obstacles overcome, largely by the aid of that personality: and in the last year of his life, at the historic Synod of Toronto, it was his pleading, his judgement, and his charm of manner, more than those of any other man, that averted a threatened deadlock, and helped once for all to consolidate the Canadian Church. No wonder that he was selected to preach the thanksgiving sermon at the close of the Synod! The book rightly tells the story of his work rather than of his life; it is in the main a compilation, notably from the diaries of the Bishop himself and those of his devoted wife. Mrs. Sillitoe constantly accompanied her husband on his journeys, and her accounts of their hardships and dangers, as well as of the good work done, give a vivid picture of a true Missionary Bishop's labours for Christ and his fellow-men. Bishop Sillitoe's life was shortened by his devotion to duty; but in the hearts of all who knew him, and in the abiding fruits of his labours, 'he being dead yet speaketh.'

VII.—SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

The Road to Unity. An Address delivered to the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches on March 9, 1911, together with an Introduction and two Sermons. By H. HENSLEY HENSON, D.D., Canon of Westminster. (Hodder and Stoughton. No date.) 1s. net.

IN this pamphlet Canon Henson puts very clearly his views on Reunion, and it may present to us a suitable opportunity for

examining his proposals. Broadly speaking they are entirely negative ; from beginning to end they are devoted to the denunciation of opinions variously described as Sacerdotalism or Tractarianism. It is a system entirely (according to Canon Henson) alien to the Church of England, as destitute of merit as of truth, and the one serious obstacle to religious Union. We may admit that the history of the Church of England has been represented by some High Church writers in a one-sided manner, and that elements in its development have been ignored, but that does not prevent Canon Henson's history from being equally one-sided. If the principles of the Church of England had been simply what they are described here to be, there could have been no separate Puritanism in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, no rebellion under the Commonwealth, no eviction of Nonconformist ministers at the Restoration, no Wesleyan Separatists, and the Tractarian revival would never have found so large a home in the Church. We may deplore all these events and the policy that produced them, but they are sufficient to testify to a very different element in the English Church from that which Canon Henson recognizes. Tractarianism may be one-sided, and there may be exaggerated elements in some modern High Church teaching, but the scheme propounded in this pamphlet is bound to fail because it is untrue to the history of the English Church.

And not only is it untrue to history, but it shuts its eyes to fact. The hold of the Church of England over the nation may be far less than it ought to be, but if the High Church movement were eliminated it would be ridiculously small. A curious instance of Canon Henson's capacity for twisting writers into apparent support of his views is given by a quotation that he makes from an article published in this *Review* on the 'Training of Candidates for Orders.' The writer of that article had deplored the intellectual inferiority of the training for Orders in the Church of England. This is glossed as follows :

' This is bad enough ; but even more serious is the fact that these ill-equipped clergy are in many cases disqualified for learning after Ordination by the sacerdotalist principles which they have received from their Theological Colleges, and by the sacerdotalist ideal which determines their interpretation of official duty. There really is no very obvious necessity for intellectual effort and the acquisition of knowledge in a career which has for its principal activities the singing of " Masses," the reading of " Offices," and the hearing of Confessions.'

This is a strange travesty of the actual facts of the case. So far as we know, the colleges which have done most in recent years to raise the standard of training for Orders are without exception High Church. There is no training more thorough or more modern than that of Kelham. Their system aims at being built up on a philosophical background, and their ordinary text-book for the history of theology is Harnack's *History of Dogma*. So far as we know there are no Evangelical Colleges distinguished for being in any way 'modern,' while Broad Churchmen are remarkable for the complete absence of any work at all. And what we have seen here is true in many other directions of the High Church party at the present time. It has its defects, but it is the party of enterprise, the party which is not frightened by modern thought. It is the High Church parishes which send the bulk of the candidates for Orders, which are alive to all the movements of the day, which are broad in their sympathies, and give people a closer hold on spiritual realities ; and often this is true of the more extreme churches. The real fact is that if Canon Henson were to be successful in his plans he would not unite Christendom, but would divide the Church of England.

Nor would he attract the Nonconformist. For, strange as it may seem, there is, we believe, far more sympathy between the sincere Nonconformist and the sincere High Churchman than there is between him and Low Church or Broad Church divine. We doubt very much whether Canon Henson's own incursions into the regions of Nonconformity are as acceptable as he wishes ; we know that his *Erastianism* would be most unpleasing to them ; nor do we think probably that they are attracted by his somewhat artificial proposals for Union. And we are quite certain that his speeches, strangely unfair and intemperate, are only too successful in hardening the narrow side of High Church traditions. There is a good deal in some teaching which is, to our mind, a perversion and an exaggeration of historical ideas ; but it is the unfortunate result of controversy, especially of controversy conducted as Canon Henson loves to conduct it, to throw all the influence on the side of the more extreme section, and this tendency has prevailed more and more in recent years. We fear very much that he is personally largely responsible for the impossibility of providing an *eirenicon*, and the attitude of *Non possumus* to every proposal for change taken by an influential and determined

minority. We believe that that attitude is unfortunate, but we do not wonder at it when it is made clear by such an advocate of Prayer Book revision as Canon Henson, that the object is to destroy every historical tradition or ecclesiastical principle which High Churchmen have held dear, and make the Church of England a place where they cannot remain.

Canon Henson, in fact, makes Reunion more difficult by exaggerating differences. His method is vigorously to attack all those who do not accept his own somewhat narrow opinions. He has no patience, and the one thing that the ecclesiastical situation demands at the present day is patience. It demands patience in historical investigation, it demands patience in dealing with the wrong-headed. We believe that if people will study the historical conditions out of which the Church grew, and will aim at a Reunion which will embrace all Christendom, they may find in the historical principles of the Christian Church, carefully studied, the true basis of Reunion. We are much more likely to correct the excesses of Sectarianism if we can give the world an inspiring ideal than if we spend our time tilting against windmills which we mistake for armed troops.

One minor point it may be convenient to treat somewhat fully. It is needless to say that Canon Henson endorses the action of the Bishop of Hereford and attempts to defend his interpretation of the Catechism. We do not believe either in the legitimacy, the wisdom, or the Christian charity of the Bishop's action. Nonconformists either are members of the Church of England or they are not; if they are, they are subject to the rule of the Church with regard to confirmation, and it is perfectly clear that, at the present time, whatever may have been the case in the past, no one can have had any difficulty about being confirmed. They have, in fact, deliberately and intentionally rejected the rite. If, on the other hand, they are not members of the Church of England, they belong to a society which has deliberately separated itself, which is not in communion with us, and although no one could forbid them the sacrament if they were in necessity, or unable to obtain it in their own community, yet to invite them to receive it as a manifesto is, to our mind, unreal, insincere, and a tampering with sacred things. An historical reference to occasional conformity does not, in our mind, better the position. The custom does not seem

to us very courteous to Nonconformists, and throughout there is an assumption of superiority which is to us distasteful. We desire, and desire earnestly, to communicate with many a Nonconformist, but it must be as a sign that we are in full communion, that our differences have come to an end, that we are once more a united body. Until that comes we do not think that we should pretend to be at one when we are not, or that we shall increase the solemnity of the rite by a policy of make-believe. A Reunion which is real we long for, and pray for, but it must be a Reunion which includes all the elements of historical Christianity, and is true to the traditions of the Church of England. And we are afraid that Canon Henson's writings are not tending to help on this or any other Union.

Robert Henry Hadden: Selected Sermons. With a Memoir by the Rev. E. H. PEARCE, M.A., and a Portrait. (Macmillan, 1911.) 3s. 6d. net.

A PORTRAIT and a memoir are not only a proper part of such a volume as this, issued as a part of a tribute to a friend by a Memorial Committee, but also greatly assist readers who never heard or saw the preacher to understand his personality and so to apprehend his message more clearly. He was a lover of great cities, especially of Liverpool and London. He was a pupil of Creighton at Merton, and what his tutor thought of him may be inferred from the fact that he offered him a title for Holy Orders. The invitation was accepted, but as circumstances intervened to prevent the plan from being carried out, Hadden went as a curate to St. Mark's, North Audley Street, and of this church he was vicar when he died in 1909. In the interval his ecclesiastical point of view was greatly influenced by Prebendary Harry Jones and William Rogers. The latter it was who told Archbishop Temple that Hadden was the right man for St. Botolph, Aldgate, where he spent the most useful period of his life. A matter of wider interest is that Rogers told Mr. Walter that 'Hadden's the man for you,' when the proprietor of *The Times* wanted an expert for the ecclesiastical department of the paper. His sermons were prepared with endless care. They were preached over and over again, corrected, refined, and illustrated afresh. The twenty-two samples of his sermons which are here printed will cause their readers to feel

no surprise that he was highly appreciated as a preacher by his congregations. The standpoint of *The Times*, or of William Rogers, or the tendencies of Hadden to sympathize with the Broad school of English theology as a whole, may not, and will not, win all readers, but the honest purpose and the reverent language of the preacher must win the attention and the respect of every one, and as a portrait of a true man we are glad to have seen the book.

VIII.—ANTIQUITIES AND TRAVEL.

Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals. By E. NORMAN GARDINER.
(Macmillan and Co. 1910.) 10s. 6d.

A SERIES of articles, published during the last few years by Mr. Norman Gardiner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, attracted considerable attention as surpassing in completeness, practical knowledge and critical sense, all previous attempts to deal with certain main problems in the history of Greek athletics. Probably no writer in any language has brought so much practical experience to bear on the subject, or covered the field he has chosen in so thorough-going a fashion. Students of antiquity, more especially that class of them—particularly numerous among the English-speaking races—who are or have been athletes, have awaited with interest the gathering of these articles into a book. They will not be disappointed; the author has given them what they expected, and a great deal more. The first half of the book, a continuous history of Greek athletics, is quite new; in the second, the articles previously published have been thoroughly revised, and new chapters added. The illustrations, which are of great importance where so much has to be inferred from contemporary monuments, are numerous, well-chosen, and (with a few exceptions, such as the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo or the Vaison Diadumenos) satisfactorily executed. There is a very useful classified bibliography. In this, however, we suspect the strange name Perlüzet to be a printer's disguise for one more familiar in archaeological circles under the form Perdrizet. Other errors of this sort are few and far between, but it may be noted that the name of the Thessalian bull-catching sport, the 'taurokathapsia,' is generally regarded as a neuter plural, not as Mr. Gardiner writes it, a feminine singular. The point would not be worth mentioning did not Mr. Gardiner say that he knows of no

representation of the sport except on the late relief from Smyrna in the Ashmolean Museum. We hope that he will some day publish that relief in connexion with the early Thessalian coins, which, as Mr. George Macdonald has recently shewn, also illustrate the subject. In fact, a discussion of all the extant evidence about the minor, so to speak uncanonical, sports of the Greeks would be of great interest.

The greater number of Mr. Gardiner's illustrations are taken from vases. The vases indeed, since they illustrate athletics in the sixth and fifth centuries, before the decline, offer by far the most important evidence. The literary authorities are for the most part late—and 'literary.' The difficulty of using them may be estimated from the story of the jump of Phayllus, which Mr. Gardiner finally rejects as a 'tall' sporting story. In fact he goes so far as to say that the Greek did not care for records, and kept no records. Perhaps not, in the sense in which the modern chronometer has made record-keeping possible; but rough-and-ready records, especially for such things as long-distance running, must, from evidence adduced by Mr. Gardiner himself, have been kept. Otherwise the legend of Phayllus, if legend it is, would hardly have grown up. But if the literary evidence is unsatisfactory, the interpretation of the monuments is by no means a simple matter. Vase-painters have their conventions and peculiar methods of shorthand expression as much as any other artists who have to represent complicated subjects in a small space. Some of the vases illustrating the foot-race make the runners move right arm with right leg instead of with left leg. This is probably a mere mistake, due to lack of observation. On another vase representing the armed race one of the competitors, in Mr. Gardiner's words, 'is guilty of the fatal mistake of looking round.' Is he, as Mr. Gardiner suggests, protesting against his fellow-runner for some unfairness; or has the painter done it simply for variety's sake; or is it a relic of the convention by which in a procession a figure looking behind him signifies that many others are supposed to be following him? Again, take the question whether in the double race and the long race, as opposed to the single stade-race, all the runners in a heat ran round one central turning post, or each round his own. Mr. Gardiner decides for separate posts in the double, and a single one in the long, race. His decision is in accordance with common-sense; but the mere fact that on a sixth-century vase four runners are shewn with but a single turning-post cannot be regarded as proof, since the one post might well be the artist's shorthand for

four. Nearly every question is beset with difficulties of the kind of which this is an example ; but Mr. Gardiner faces them all and nearly always strikes a happy mean between dogmatism and indecision.

Besides the points of view of the archaeologist pure and simple and of the practical athlete with an historic sense, there is another from which we may look at the subject—the ethical. The effect of athletics on character and the evils of professionalism and over-specialization are fertile subjects for discussion, and we do not intend to enter upon them here, but merely to draw attention to one aspect of the matter which is apt to be neglected. These evils cannot be properly understood unless we realize that they are equally liable to be present in other branches of human activity. Making due exception of certain philosophers, it is safe to say that the Greek ideal of education was a harmonious balance between soul and body. Neglect of the latter could never, as in certain phases of Christianity, become a virtue, even for the cynic ; and over-specialization in the cultivation of either at the expense of the other was regarded as an evil. We at the present day seem to recognize the evil in only one of its aspects, in athletics. It would not need the skill of a sophist to make out a case, acceptable to the ordinary educated Greek, against specialization in, let us say, music or acting. The mischief of such specialization is that it closes the field to all but those who are willing to give their lives to training ; the majority of mankind thus become idle spectators, and the artist, equally with the athlete, a professional who performs for their amusement and is open to all the deleterious influences which beset his class. The arts themselves suffer. A truly liberal education, of the kind which Vittorino da Feltre, for instance, gave to his pupils, or Lord Herbert of Cherbury described, becomes almost impossible. It is not necessary to insist that this point of view is wholly right, but it opens up certain considerations which might well be taken into account by our reformers.

Overland to India. By SVEN HEDIN. Two Volumes. With Illustrations and Maps. (Macmillan. 1910.) 30s. net.

IN these volumes Sir Sven Hedin describes his route from Trebizond through Armenia, Central Persia, and Northern Baluchistan to Quetta and the Valley of the Indus. Crossing

the Black Sea in the latter part of 1905, he reached Batum, which he found plunged in the miseries of a strike and terrorized by anarchists. The whole Colchis coast was convulsed by revolutionary disturbances, and he was glad to reach Trebizon, which is a pleasant place. Thence he drove through desolated Armenia, which Turks, Kurds, and Armenians were ruining by their sanguinary quarrels. The barren mountains, ruined villages, desolate plains, and scanty fields formed a gloomy picture, and the snowy peak of Ararat looked down on a dreary country. It was a pleasure to reach Tabriz, which stands in a sterile plain, and had once half a million inhabitants, but at present contains little more than 200,000. The land and people in Persia are fast sinking into utter decay. The degeneration is lamentable. Beyond Tabriz the route was monotonous, barren plains with but scanty vegetation and wretched villages being passed, until Teheran was reached. The capital of Persia is in a state of decay. It stands in a barren plain, surrounded by a ruinous wall, is 3700 feet above the sea, and has a population of 200,000 souls. Beyond Teheran deserts had to be crossed. Camels were bought and a caravan equipped, and on January 1st, 1906, Sven Hedin left Teheran. A few days later he entered the desert, a dreary clay expanse with sand belts here and there, and scarcely any vegetation. Snowstorms were frequent. Then came the Kevir, a wet salt desert, which extended for 200 miles. It is uninhabited, and is the home of wild asses. Tradition says it was once a sea, and ascribes its origin to Solomon and to demons. Its average height is 2500 feet above the sea. Marco Polo traversed the Persian deserts in 1272 A.D., and his descriptions of their features are strikingly correct. Beyond the Kevir came barren plains and stony ridges, till Naibend, full of palm groves, was reached, beyond which town similar districts were traversed until Sir Sven Hedin arrived in the province of Seistan. This portion of Persia is one of its most fertile provinces, being better supplied with water than the other parts of the country. According to Persian writers Seistan was once a perfect garden, and even now under good government it might be made a second Egypt. In its centre lies the great lake of the Hamun, which spreads fertility all around. Climatic and geological changes (as our author points out) have much altered Eastern Persia. Since the Glacial and Quaternary Periods its lakes have slowly dried up and the rainfall has decreased, and so may be explained those great expanses of clay with salt efflorescence, which give the country such a dreary appearance. On April 6th, 1906,

Sir Sven Hedin reached the Hamun lake, which is little more than the flooded delta of the Hilmend river. The land around was perfectly flat, so that the lake spread to the horizon like a sea. It was, however, very shallow, and not six feet deep in the very deepest part. At a distance, old beaches far above the present level shewed how steadily the lake has for ages been drying up. Its borders are formed of grey clay and covered with reeds. The whole of the Hamun district reminded the traveller of the Tarim basin and the Lop lake in Turkistan, which he graphically describes in a former work. Having crossed the lake he entered a region in which the plague was raging. The ravages of the disease were terrible. Whole districts were depopulated, and famine followed pestilence. How it reached Seistan was a mystery, as the countries all round were free from it. Seistan—which is full of ruined towns which formerly were populous—is the scene of great political rivalry between England and Russia, and it is possible that the contest for the supremacy in Persia between these two Great Powers will commence in Seistan. Again the wearisome journey over sterile clay plains and between barren mountains was undergone, until the frontiers of Baluchistan were reached. This country is under the protection of England. The rest-houses were good, and the telegraph ran alongside of the track. The heat was fearful, being sometimes more than 100°, the very stones being too hot to touch. At Nushki the railway was reached, and on May 14th, 1906, the explorer arrived at Quetta. This is a large English town, 5512 feet above the sea, full of parks and gardens, and holding a garrison of 5000 men. From Quetta the train speedily brought Sir Sven Hedin down into the Indus Valley, where the book ends. The work is written in a bright and lively style. There are several hundred illustrations from photographs and water-colour sketches by the author. The maps are excellent, and the type and binding are admirable. The value of the book is also increased by a first-rate index.

Memorials of Old Lincolnshire. Edited by E. MANSEL SYMPSON, M.A., M.D. (London: George Allen & Sons. 1911.) 15s. net.

WE have little but praise for this beautiful volume, which will always take a first rank in the series of Memorials of Old Counties. The editing and illustrations are alike excellent, the latter really

illustrate, and are set in the places to which they belong. And the subjects are well chosen, though the scope is limited by the wealth of material supplied by the second largest county in England, and one so remarkably full of objects of interest. The monastic institutions, the city of Lincoln, and the great Minster, have all had to be left out, for they alone would demand a couple of volumes. Nor have we articles on the folklore or the dialect, both of which have been treated upon in separate works. There remain, however, sixteen subjects that are dealt with here, and among these, the churches, whether 'Saxon' or Mediaeval, for which the county is so famous, claim the principal amount of space. The first article is on Prehistoric Lincolnshire, and the subject is dealt with in periods, in such a way as to give the unlearned some idea of what prehistoric archaeology is. We think that a disproportionate amount of attention is given to 'The Pygmy Race of Men' and to the so-called 'Pygmy Flints.' No evidence is adduced to shew that these minute implements were made only by a 'Pygmy' race such as the Aztecs and other diminutive people. They may have been made by men of any stature, as easily as minute objects are now. And if the 'Pygmy Flints' are supposed to have been wrought by men as small in proportion to other men as these are in proportion to ordinary flint implements, then such men must have been about six inches high, a race of whom we have no account save in the travels of Lemuel Gulliver. Mr. Tatham follows with an account of 'The Romans in Lincolnshire,' a subject which he has long made his own. Like Dr. Stukeley and other enthusiasts, he is perhaps too ready to attribute a Roman origin to remains which are of much later date. The 'ruined habitations' of Gainsthorpe (p. 34) are probably those of a village of that name which, according to De la Pryme, nobody inhabited but thieves, and the country 'riss with one consent, and pulld the same down about their ears.' And the 'strong camp' at Alkborough was dug into some years ago, without any sign of Roman occupation being discovered. An illustration twice referred to on p. 29 does not appear. The 'Saxon' churches, as they are commonly called, are well described by Mr. Hamilton Thompson. There are about thirty-six portions of such churches in Lincolnshire alone, the finest example of which is St. Peter's at Barton-on-Humber. To the enumerations usually given should now be added an earlier nave at Winterton, worked into the 'Saxon' tower. This nave was discovered in 1903.¹ The east side of the tower stands on the

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1904, p. 20.

west end of the nave, and its north and south sides abut on the white-washed western face of the same. The 'Saxon' tower arch has been inserted in the place of the original west door.

We now come to mediaeval buildings. The interesting little chapel at Kirkstead is well described by the late Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler. It was the *capella extra portas* attached to Kirkstead, a usual feature in Cistercian abbeys. They had what Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite used to call a 'Tramps' Hostel,' and they had a 'Tramps' Chapel' as well. A group of seven fine churches all lying together near Spalding next claims our attention. Mr. Foster has done justice to them in his accounts and illustrations ; and then comes the typical church at Heckington, all built at one effort, in the same style, Geometrical passing into Flowing, and untouched by subsequent accretions and alterations. Many other churches in the neighbourhood were built about the same time, the middle of the fourteenth century, but this is one of the most beautiful and complete parish churches of this or any other period. Some have found it less interesting because it contains no remains of earlier buildings and no 'historical landmarks' in the way of later alterations. That may be, but it remains as a perfect gem in its architectural beauty, a church of which not only any county but any country might well be proud. Mr. Jebb follows with Boston Church, mainly from the historical point of view ; Mr. Hamilton Thompson with the town and Church of Grantham, and Mr. Crowther-Beynon with Stamford and its churches. The Editor gives an admirable account of Tattershall Castle and Church, Mr. Jeans describes the sepulchral brasses, and then the Editor appears again with rood-screens and lofts. Among these should be noted the Early English screen at Kirkstead, described by Mr. Hodgson Fowler in the article noted above. We do not think that the 'double screen' (Pulpitum and Rood-screen) was characteristic of Cistercian churches. It obtained equally in Benedictine and Cluniac churches, and in those of Austin and Premonstratensian canons, as is shewn in Mr. F. Bond's book, and in our review of the same,¹ where also the distinction between the rood-screen and the pulpitum is clearly set forth. There seems to be some confusion on this matter. The existing screen at St. Albans is the rood-screen ; the pulpitum or choir-screen has been destroyed. The reverse is usually the case : the pulpitum has been retained and

¹ *C.Q.R.*, vol. lxx. p. 98.

the rood-screen destroyed. However, it is with the single screens of parish churches that we are mainly concerned in Lincolnshire, and of these we have an excellent account. Mr. Tatham follows with a very different subject from his former one, namely 'Lincolnshire and the great Civil War.' Lincolnshire has generally been well to the fore in national disturbances, and had a full share in those of the seventeenth century. Mr. Tatham's account is both able and interesting. Doddington Hall, a typical Elizabethan mansion, is described *con amore* by the Rev. R. E. G. Cole. It retains its traditional furniture, pictures, etc., as well as its very handsome and picturesque exterior. The last article in the volume, by Dr. Marten Perry, is devoted to the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, which was founded in 1710 by Maurice Johnson, of the Inner Temple, F.S.A., a native of Spalding, who, while resident in London, had been associated with the chief literary men and wits of the time, and was the first honorary librarian of the resuscitated Society of Antiquaries of London. The Spalding society rapidly grew, and is enjoying a vigorous life at the present time. Dr. Perry is its President, and gives a most interesting account of its history. Among its members were Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Hans Sloane, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, Roger and Samuel Gale, Dr. Stukeley, Samuel Wesley, Dr. Bentley, Archdeacon Sharp, Browne Willis, and other eminent men too numerous to mention. The work of the society has been largely devoted to antiquities, but also to natural history, literature, chemistry, fine arts, mathematics, music, electricity, and indeed to anything worthy of the attention of] cultured men, always excepting politics and theology ; and, to quote Dr. Stukeley, it has 'excited such a spirit of learning and curiosity in that level part of Lincolnshire, called South Holland, as probably will never be extinguished.'

The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Mediaeval England.

By the Rev. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A. (London : George Allen and Sons. 1911.) 15s. net.

THIS volume, handsomely printed and adorned with pretty, if not quite relevant, architectural views, is not altogether worthy of its subject. It deals with a topic which, as the author says, has been hitherto neglected, and it contains an abundance of information. The compilation from printed sources such as

local histories and the 'Pleas of the Crown,' published by the Selden Society, is useful, but not very intelligently executed. Dr. Cox has added the fruits of some research of his own among Assize Rolls and similar documents. His accuracy is not above reproach. He gives a photograph of part of a list of sanctuary-seekers at Beverley in 1478. Among the names are Walker and Hardewyk. Dr. Cox transcribes them as Walton and Hardewyt, and it is plain that in other cases where we cannot control him he has made similar mistakes. He has also quoted largely from second-hand or obsolete sources and is credulous, in the spirit of the antiquary rather than of the historian, concerning traditional origins. As a final complaint, he has been careless in his correction for the press, and some of his mistakes, e.g. Whitby for Whitley on p. 167, may be misleading as well as irritating. Yet the general reader will learn a great deal, and gain a true impression, from the book. Dr. Cox shews how a limited sanctuary right belonged to every consecrated building. The felon who escaped to it was allowed, after confessing his guilt to the coroner and surrendering his goods, to make his unmolested way by the straight road to a seaport, and leave the country unpunished. An American, Professor Trenholme, whom Dr. Cox cites, makes the reasonable estimate that a thousand such cases occurred in each year of the later Middle Ages. But beside sanctuary of this kind, which was unknown on the Continent, England allowed a special sanctuary right to the precincts of a few great Churches, such as Beverley, Westminster, and Durham. These precincts covered a considerable area within which fugitives, whether on account of debt or crime, were allowed to live, so long as they conducted themselves orderly. If they offended, they would be immured in an ecclesiastical dungeon, a fate which, in those days, was probably not preferable to execution by the sheriff. Dr. Cox traces the gradual limitation of the privilege, withdrawn successively in the case of one serious crime after another, till after the Reformation it came to mean little more than such disorder as Scott has described in *The Fortunes of Nigel*; and when this immunity was abolished in 1727, nothing remained but sanctuary for debtors, in its turn to disappear in the nineteenth century. The whole story is interesting, and worthy of being told as Maitland would have told it.

PERIODICALS.

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wick *Social Relations in the Light of Christianity.* 'Headlam *History, Authority and Theology.*' 'Skrine *Sermons to Pastors and Masters.*' 'Stock *My Recollections.*' 'Morley *London at Prayer.*' 'Hitchcock *Christ and His Critics.*'

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The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. VI. No. 22. April 1911. Dublin: Gill). H. Pope: 'The Oxyrhynchus Papyri and Pentateuchal Criticism.' T. Slater: 'Modern Sociology, II.' J. MacRory: 'Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries and St. Matt. xix 9.' P. J. Toner: 'Matter and Form of Original Sin.' G. Pierse: 'The Origin of the Doctrine of the Sacramental Character.' M. J. O'Donnell: 'The Historical Basis of a Jansenist Error,' II. J. MacCaffrey: 'Cornish English Church in the XIXth Century.' P. J. Toner: 'Griffith Thomas Christianity is Christ' ('an excellent little volume'); 'Tirard *The Book of the Dead*'; 'Humbert *Les Origines de la Théologie Moderne*' (1450-1521); 'Bedjan-Nau Nestorius. *Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas.*' P. Boylan: 'Gregg *The Wisdom of Solomon*'; 'Lippl *Das Buch des Propheten Sophonias.*' M. J. O'Donnell: 'Bridier *A Papal Envoy during the Reign of Terror* (Mgr. de Salamon)' [E.T.]; 'R. H. Benson *Non-Catholic Denominations.*' J. O'Neill: 'Schneider *Die Grundgesetze der Descendenztheorie.*' J. MacRory: 'Naville *The Discovery of the Book of the Law under Josiah*' [E.T.]; 'Cohu *St. Paul in the Light of Modern Research*'; 'Chapman *John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel.*'

The London Quarterly Review (No. 230. April 1911. Kelly). E. Walker: 'Christian Science and Disease.' W. Spiers: 'Dr. Wallace's *World of Life.*' H. M. Hughes: 'Christian Experience and Historical Fact.' S. E. Keeble: 'Literature and the Movement for Social Reform.' W. W. Holdsworth: 'The Philosophic Basis of Caste.' W. F. Moulton: 'An Interpretation of the French Revolution.' A. T. Burbridge: 'Personality and God.' T. H. S. Escott: 'Evangelical Foregleams in XVIIth Century Verse' (chiefly Addison). J. Telford: 'The Bible and the Bible Society.' W. T. Davison: 'The Education of the Ministry.' H. B. Workman: 'The Conversion of Constantine.' R. W. Moss: 'The Tombs of the Kings.' J. G. Tasker: 'The "Leighton" Tercentenary.' J. Telford: 'H. S. Chamberlain *The Foundations of the XIXth Century.*' Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, III. 'Orr *Sin.*' 'Expositor's Greek Testament, IV-V.' 'A. S. Lewis *Old Syriac Gospels.*' 'Chapman *John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel.*' 'F. W. Lewis *Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel.*' 'Edghill *The Spirit of Power.*' 'Knowing Messianic Interpretation.' 'W. E. Beet *The Rise of the Papacy.*' 'Thomas-Stanford *Sussex in the Great Civil War and the Interregnum*' (1642-60). 'Pearce *R. H. Hadden.*' 'R. B. Thompson *Peter Thompson.*' 'Social Ministry.' 'Zimmermann *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du*

Mont Carmel.' 'B. Russell Philosophical Essays.' 'W. Miller *Unrest and Education in India.*'

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The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XV. No. 2. April 1911. Chicago University Press). F. C. Burkitt: 'The Historical Character of the Gospel of Mark.' C. A. Beckwith: 'The Influence of Psychology upon Theology.' S. J. Case: 'Is Jesus a Historical Character? Evidence for an affirmative Opinion.' J. E. Russell: 'The Crisis in Doctrinal Christianity.' E. Montet: 'Thoughts on the Idea of a First Cause.' G. D. Walcott: 'The Logical Aspect of Religious Unity.' S. J. Case: 'The Pre-Christian Jesus.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'The Toronto Gospels.' A Greek MS. of saec. xii. H. Creelman: 'Skinner *Genesis.*' J. A. Montgomery: 'Cowley *The Samaritan Liturgy.*' L. W. Batten: 'Violet Die Esra-*Apokalypse* (iv Esra).' C. W. Votaw: 'H. C. King *The Ethics of Jesus*'; 'Stalker *The Ethic of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels.*' S. J. Case: 'Bultmann *Die Stil der Paulinischen Predigt u. die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*'; 'Alexander *The Ethics of St. Paul.*' E. W. G. Masterman: 'Viaud *Nazareth.*' E. J. Goodspeed: 'v. Dobschütz *Die Thessalonischer Briefe.*' E. F. Scott: 'Granbery *Outlines of N.T. Christology.*' Staudt *The Idea of the Resurrection in the Ante-Nicene Period.*' G. B. Smith: 'Wendland *Der Wunderglaube im Christentum*'; 'Monod *Le problème de Dieu et la théologie chrétienne depuis la Réforme.*' J. W. Moncrief: 'E. Emerton Unitarian Thought.' G. A. Coe: 'Ames *The Psychology of Religious Experience* (7½ pp.).' A. K. Parker: 'Recent Missionary Literature.' 'Lebreton *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité.*'

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The Review and Expositor (Vol. VIII. No. 2. April 1911. Louisville, Ky.). R. J. Drummond: 'The Sufficiency of the Gospel Ethic.' O. P. Gifford: 'Christian Science.' P. L. Jones: 'Henry Drummond.' R. E. Chambers: 'Christianity in Awakened China.' T. P. Stafford: 'Expository Preaching—A Criticism.' W. W. Everts: 'The Apocrypha, a Source of Roman Catholic Error.' J. L. Kessler: 'The Preacher and Biology.' C. S. Gardner: 'F. Arnold Attention and Interest'; 'Davies The Moral Life. A Study in Genetic Ethics.' B. H. De Ment: 'H. F. Cope The Efficient Layman, or the Religious Training of Men'; 'Lobstein Introduction to Protestant Dogmatics.' G. B. Eager: 'Wilcox The American City. A Problem in Democracy'; 'Cunningham Christianity and Social Questions.' A. C. Eager: 'Addams Twenty Years at Hull House.' W. O. Carver: 'James A Pluralistic Universe'; 'Ramsay The Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey.' W. J. McGlothlin: 'Cumont Les Religious Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain.' E. M. Poteat: 'Carver Missions and Modern Thought.' J. H. Farmer: 'A. T. Robertson St. Matthew.' A. T. Robertson: 'Montefiore Elements of the Religious Teaching of Jesus'; 'D. Smith The Days of His Flesh'; 'Thorburn The Resurrection Narratives and Modern Criticism.'

The Jewish Quarterly Review (N.S. Vol. I. No. 4. April 1911. Macmillan). H. Malter: 'Shem Tob ben Joseph Palquera. II. His "Treatise of the Dream" published for the first time from a MS. in the British Museum' (Add. 27,144). J. Z. Lauterbach: 'The Ancient Jewish Allegorists in Talmud and Midrash,' II. A. Mishcon: 'The Suppressed Parts of a Shabu ot Piyut.' K. Kohler: 'Oesterley The Psalms in the Jewish Church.' M. L. Margolis: 'The Temple Dictionary of the Bible'; 'Driver Introduction to the Literature of the O.T. (new edit.)'; 'Duff History of O.T. Criticism'; 'Eerdmans Alttestamentliche Studien'; 'Wiener Origin of the Pentateuch and Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism'; 'Rothstein Die Nachtgeschichte des Sacharja'; 'Jahn Die Bücher Esra (A.u.B.) und Nehemja'; 'Torrey Ezra Studies'; 'Theis Geschichtliche u. literarikritische Fragen in Esra 1-6'; 'J. Adams Israel's Ideal'; 'Ginsburg Isaias'; 'de' Cavalieri et Lietzmann Specimina Codicum Graecorum Vaticanae.' J. H. Greenstone: 'H. H. Meyer The Graded Sunday School in Principle and Practice' ('Out of the 1,400,000 officers and teachers of the Sunday Schools in the United States only 10,000 are known to have received any training').

The Expositor (N.S. Vol. I. Nos. 4-6. April-June 1911. Hodder and Stoughton). G. B. Gray: 'The Virgin Birth in Relation to the Interpretation of Isaiah vii 14.' E. König: 'A Modern Expert's Judgment on the O.T. Historical writings.' B. W. Bacon: 'Songs of the Lord's "Beloved"' [Odes of Solomon]. A. Souter: 'Did St. Paul speak Latin?' A. E. Garvie: 'Did Paul borrow his Gospel?' Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'Historical Commentary on the Epistles to Timothy' (continued). H. T. F. Duckworth: 'Notes on Dr. Lepsius' Interpretation of the Symbolic Language of the Apocalypse.' J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan: 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri, xxi.' (xxii. May, xxiii. June). May. J. T. Marshall: 'The Odes and Philo,' I (II. June). G. Margoliouth: 'Christ and Eschatology.' E. F. Morison: 'The Enthusiasm of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.' N. H. Marshall: 'Other-Worldliness and Apocalypticism.' H. R. Mackintosh: 'History and the Gospel.' W. W. Holdsworth: 'The Markan Narrative in the Synoptic Gospels.' Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'Dr. Johannes Lepsius on the Symbolic Language of the Revelation.' June. Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'Dr. Moffatt on the Literature of the N. T.' B. D. Eerdmans: 'The Day of Atonement.' Dr. Johannes Lepsius on the Symbolic Language of the Revelation.' With Introduction and Notes by Sir W. M. Ramsay. A. E. Garvie: 'Did Paul commend his Gospel?' J. Stalker: 'Studies in Conversion. IV. John Bunyan.'

The Expository Times (Vol. XXII. Nos. 7-9. April-June 1911. T. and T. Clark). W. Muir: 'The Development of Doctrine.' A. Crosthwaite: 'The Symbolism of the Letters to the Seven Churches.' R. M. Pope: 'Studies in Pauline Vocabulary' ("Tabernacle upon," 2 Cor. xii 9). S. H. Langdon and C. F. Burney: 'The Hebrew word for "Atone"' (continued May, by Prof. König and Dr. Langdon). G. A. J. Ross: 'The Earlier Emphasis of St. Paul.' J. E. Roberts: 'Acts xiv 3.' G. A. Barton: 'Rahab' (continued June, by C. Moxon). 'Studies in the Synoptic Problem.' E. F. Scott *The Kingdom and the Messiah.* 'Sir A. Fraser Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots.' W. B. Grubb *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land* (The Chaco Indians). May. S. R. Driver: 'The Authorized Version of the Bible' (Sermon). Ven. W. C. Allen: 'Harnack and Moffatt on the Date of the First Gospel.' A. Wright: 'Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem.' P. S. P. Handcock: 'Identification of an unnamed O.T. King' (In 1 Kings xxii Hadad-ezer). P. Haupt: 'Selah as "Reverential Prostration."' M. D. Gibson: 'Which was the Night of the Passover?' H. R. Mackintosh: 'Wendland *Der Wunderglaube im Christentum.*' J. S. Banks: 'Ihmels *Centralfragen der Dogmatik in der Gegenwart*' (favourable). June. A. R. S. Kennedy: 'Codex Edinburgensis. A hitherto unknown MS. of the O.T.' (In the Advocates' Library). With photograph. Ven. W. C. Allen: 'Moffatt *Introduction to the Literature of the N.T.*' A. E. Garvie: 'The Living Christ and the Historical Jesus.' H. A. A. Kennedy: 'Galatians vi 12, 13.' A. Hillebrandt: 'The Practice of Circumambulation.' E. Stock: 'The Pounds and the Talents.' M. J. Birks: 'St. Matt. xi 12.' A. H. Sayce: 'The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis' (continued). H. E. Warner *The Psychology of the Christian Life.* Armitage Robinson *The Advent Hope in St. Paul's Epistles.* H. O. Taylor *The Mediaeval Mind.* V. Arnold *Roman Stoicism.* R. A. Nicholson *The Kashf Al-Mahjub.*

The English Church Review (Vol. II. Nos. 17-18. May-June 1911. Longmans). Very Rev. V. Staley: 'The Scottish Church.' 'Frere Some Principles of Liturgical Reform.' W. K. Firminger: 'The Guardian of the Sacraments.' 'Mater': 'What is the Matter?' 'The Good Friday Procession.' 'Inner Temple': 'Privy Council Judgments. Some Considerations.' 'The Ornaments Rubric. Reply to the Bishop of Manchester.' S. Beale: 'The Coronation of a French King.' 'Lambeth and Upsala. A New Departure.' Reprinted from *The Tablet.* 'Sir W. E. Cooper Spiritual Science. Here and Hereafter.' 'Gasquet Leaves from my Diary, 1894-6.' 'Bishop of Delaware Principles of Anglicanism.' 'Lumsden The Dawn of Modern England, 1509-25.' J. S. Stone *The Prayer before the Passion.* June. D. Maclean: 'The Paradox of the Coronation Rite.' 'The Word "Altar" in the Coronation Service.' W. K. Fleming: 'The late Bishop of Gibraltar.' 'Sacerdos': 'Bishop Collins and Church Defence.' 'The Occasional Conformist.' 'Laicus': 'The Houses of Laymen and the Laity'; 'Briggs *Church Unity.*' D. Maclean: 'Sparrow Simpson *The Athanasian Warnings.*' 'Holmes *The Church, Her Books, and Her Sacraments.*' 'Drake *The Way of Fellowship.*'

The Churchman (Vol. XXV. Nos. 64-6. April-June 1911. R. Scott). Bishop of Carlisle: 'The Ministry of the Word and Sacraments,' II. (III May). D. R. Fotheringham: 'Fresh Light on the Date of the Crucifixion.' G. J. Cowley-Brown: 'The English and Scottish Non-jurors.' H. C. Lees: 'The Third Day. An Expository Study for Eastertide.' J. Vaughan: 'Sir Matthew Hale.' S. R. Cambie: 'Lodge Reason and Belief.' F. J. Hall *Evolution and the Fall.* 'Chirol Indian Unrest.' W. Miller *Unrest and Education in India.* J. M. Wilson *The Aims and Origins of the Four Gospels.* 'Wace *Principles of the Reformation.*

May. C. F. Russell: 'Historical Records and Inspiration.' A. Way: 'The Religious Philosophy of William James.' M. L. G. Carus-Wilson: 'The Reflex Influence at Home of Missions Abroad.' T. H. S. Escott: 'The Attack from Within.' A. E. Woodcock: "In Earthen Vessels." H. J. Bardsley: 'Chapman John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel'; 'Cohu St. Paul and Modern Research.' J. K. Mozley: 'Coke The Domain of Belief.' June. G. F. Carter: 'Modernism and the New Testament.' A. W. F. Blunt: 'Orders and Reunion.' W. S. Hooton: 'The Time of Communion at Troas.' W. F. Kimm: 'The Reformation under Josiah.' (The late) W. H. Legge: 'The Archbishops of Canterbury as Lay Lords.' H. W. Clark: 'The Critical Attitude.' F. S. G. W[arman]: 'Cornish The English Church in the XIXth Century.' 'Warman New Testament Theology.' W. E. Beck: 'Ryder The Priesthood of the Laity.'

The Catholic World (Vol. XCIII. Nos. 553-5. April-June 1911. New York: 120-122 West 60th Street). M. M. Gardner: 'Two Polish Poets in Rome' (A. Mickiewicz and Z. Krasinski). W. J. Kerby: 'The Indictment of Private Property.' S. T. Swift: 'The Human Side of Gladstone.' H. Belloc: 'What Happened in Britain' (continued May). J. P. Turner: 'The late Archbishop Ryan' (of Philadelphia. Died 11 Feb. 1911). 'Chesterton William Blake' (very favourable). 'Bussell The Roman Empire (81-1081).' R. H. Benson *Non-Catholic Denominations*. May. W. Turner: 'The Symbolism of Dante.' W. H. Sheran: 'Newman's Devotion to Our Lady.' M. V. Hillmann: 'Hawthorne and Transcendentalism.' B. C. A. Windle: 'The Irish Industrial Revival Movement.' 'Lacey A Roman Diary' (5 pp.). 'J. G. Simpson *Preachers and Teachers*' (severe). 'Tixeront History of Dogma.' 'Edghill The Spirit of Power' (favourable). 'Mackail *Lectures on Greek Poetry*.' June. J. A. Ryan: 'Henry George and Private Property.' K. Tynan: 'Emily Hickey, a Catholic Poet.' C. O'Sullivan: 'The Agreement prior to Mixed Marriages. Is it valid in Law?' (The writer, apparently a Roman Catholic lawyer, answers No.) S. Meynell: 'Sir William Butler.' M. H. Lucey: 'The Founding of New York's first Parish School.' An interesting piece of history. F. McCullagh: 'Separation of Church and State in Portugal.' E. S. Tupper: 'The Old Missions in California.'

The Edinburgh Review (No. 436. April 1911. Longmans). 'Lord Rosebery's Chatham.' 'The Origin of Land Plants.' 'The Pursuit of Reason.' 'The Historical Monuments of Great Britain and their Illustrations in Hertfordshire and Berwickshire.' 'Descriptive Sociology.' 'The Conflict of Colour.' 'The Barbary Corsairs.' 'Roman Scotland.' 'The Duchesse du Maine and her Court.' 'Lord Goschen.'

The Quarterly Review (No. 427. April 1911. John Murray). 'Co-operative Credit Societies and the Land.' Sir H. H. Johnston: 'The Preservation of Fauna and Flora.' E. Armstrong: 'Catherine de Médicis.' 'The Exodus of our Art Treasures.' W. Hunt: 'The Letters of Erasmus.' A. Greenwell and J. V. Elsden: 'Coal-dust and Colliery Explosions.' 'Oxford University Reform.' 'A Great French Scholar: Léopold Delisle.' 'The Referendum in Operation: I. In Switzerland (by W. Oechsli); II. In the United States (by A. L. Lowell); III. In Australia (by H. Moore and E. Scott).'

The English Historical Review (Vol. XXVI. No. 102. April 1911. Longmans). Z. N. Brooke: 'Pope Gregory VII.'s Demand for Fealty from William the Conqueror.' W. M. Geldart: 'The Year Books of Edward II.' A. F. Pollard: 'The Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.' H. Johnstone: 'Two Governors of Shrewsbury during the Great Civil War and the Interregnum' (Humphrey Mackworth, sen. and jun.). J. F. Chance: 'George I. and Peter the Great after the Peace of Nystad.' R. L. Poole: 'Burgundian Notes; I. The Alpine Son-in-law of Edward'

the Elder.' J. C. Fox: 'Mary, Abbess of Shaftesbury' (Marie de France, temp. Hen. II.-Joh.) C. H. Haskins: 'The Inquest of 1171 in the Avranchin.' F. Madan: 'Grant by King Robert Bruce of the Sheriffdom of Cromarty, 1315.' Sir J. H. Ramsay, Bart.: 'The Origin of the Name "Pipe Roll."' C. G. Crump: 'The Arrest of Roger Mortimer and Q. Isabel.' K. G. Feiling: 'An Essex Manor in the XIVth Century' (Hutton). A. Peel: 'A Puritan Survey of the Church in Staffordshire in 1604.' In the Morrice Collection in Dr. Williams' Library, Gordon Square, London. E. W. Brooks: 'Bussell *The Roman Empire* (81-1081).' H. Stuart Jones: 'Curle *A Roman Frontier Post and its People*; the *Fort of Newstead in Parish of Melrose*'; 'Dubois *Pouzoles antique*.' E. J. Gwynn: 'Rhys Notes on the *Calendar of Coligny*.' J. H. Gubbins: 'Murdoch *History of Japan to 1542*' and 'Papinot *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*.' G. B. Brown: 'Rivoira *Lombardic Architecture*' (critical). F. Morgan: 'Palmer and Owen *Ancient Tenures of Land in North Wales and the Marches* (2nd edit.).' H. W. C. Davis: 'Morris *The Frankpledge System*.' C. H. Haskins: 'Niese *Die Gesetzgebung der normannischen Dynastie im Regnum Siciliae*.' G. Baskerville: 'Davidsohn *Geschichte von Florenz, II*' (7 pp.). H. Rashdall: 'Pastow *The Arts Course in Mediaeval Universities*' ('thoroughly good'). F. Liebermann: 'Rigg *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, II* (1273-5).' W. E. Rhodes: 'Borrelli de Serres *Recherches sur divers services publics du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle, III*.' E. W. Watson: 'Delannoy *La Juridiction ecclésiastique . . . sous l'ancien Régime en France, I*' (favourable). E. Scott: 'J. A. Atkinson *Tracts relating to the Civil War in Cheshire, 1641-59*.' C. H. Firth: 'Ball *Correspondence of Swift, I*.' H. E. Egerton: 'Harris and de Villiers *Storm Van's Gravesande. The Rise of British Guiana*.' W. B. Wood: 'Formby *The American Civil War*.' G. B. Hertz: 'McIlwain *The High Court of Parliament and its Supremacy*' ('really important'). 'The Great Rolls of the Pipe, 27-28 Henry, II.' 'Endres Thomas von Aquin.' A. G. L[ittle]: 'Toulmin Smith *Itinerary of John Leland, IV-V*.' 'The Stawells of Cothelstone.'

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The more important will be reviewed in Articles and Short Notices as space permits.

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MC NEILE, A. H.—*The Book of Numbers in the Revised Version*. With Introductions and Notes. 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.' Pp. xxviii + 196. (Cambridge University Press.) 2s. 6d. net. With map.

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STONEHOUSE, G. G. V.—*The Book of Habakkuk.* Introduction, Translation, and Notes on the Hebrew Text. Pp. viii + 264. (Rivingtons.) 5s. net.

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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

APRIL 1911 : JULY 1911

EDITED BY

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

VOLUME LXXII

LONDON

SPOTTISWOODE & CO. LTD., NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.

1911

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